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THE NATIONAL BUREAU

OF COMMERCE

AN INTERNATIONAL BUREAU

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REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

FOR THE YEAR 1901

AND THE PROGRESS OF THE BUREAU

IN THE YEAR 1901

AND THE PROGRESS OF THE BUREAU

IN THE YEAR 1901

AND THE PROGRESS OF THE BUREAU

A N
HISTORICAL VIEW
OF THE
CONTROVERSY
CONCERNING
AN INTERMEDIATE STATE

AND
The SEPARATE EXISTENCE of the SOUL
BETWEEN
DEATH and the GENERAL RESURRECTION,

Deduced from the
Beginning of the PROTESTANT REFORMATION to
the PRESENT TIMES.

WITH
Some Thoughts, in a Prefatory Discourse,
ON THE
Use and Importance of Theological Controversy.

The SECOND EDITION, corrected and greatly enlarged.

Much of the SOUL they talk, but all awry.
MILTON.

L O N D O N :
Printed for J. WHEBLE, No. 24. Pater-noster Row.
MDCCLXXII.

Blackburn



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REGIA

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A D-

ADVERTISEMENT.

IT is not necessary to pretend, that this second edition of the *Historical View*, is occasioned by the rapid sale of the first, or called for by the author's friends, to supply the scarcity of the remaining copies. What reception the former edition met with from the public, the author hath not concerned himself to inquire. After an existence of *seven* years, it is natural to conclude, the book has submitted to the fate of many others that have not risen above the line of mediocrity, and is gone, εἰς τὸν τοῦτον τὸν ἰδίον; which may be better or worse according as the purchaser or the vender might be disposed to interr it with more or less ceremony.

By one or other of these, complaints were made, that full justice had not been done to some writers of note, who were pointed out to the author, as equally worthy of the attention of the public, with those he had distinguished in his collection. To this remonstrance he gave ear, and determined at length to review such of these as seemed to him more especially to deserve the pains; and he hath accordingly selected, for the reader's farther contemplation, some sentiments of *William Tyndall*, *Anthony de Dominis*, and *Thomas White*, the last of whom hath travelled a road, in which, as far as appears to the author, none have gone before him, or followed him.

Perhaps the author might have taken in two or three more of the writers of the last century, had he not thought, that an especial respect was due to some great names, and a portion of compassion to some little ones, whose publications have appeared since the first edition of his book, and the room taken up by these, is just as much as he thought it necessary to employ in the present exhibition.

The importance of the subject hath been so very differently estimated by different writers, that there is no saying under what denomination they who take, what the orthodox call, *the wrong side of the question*, may now be classed. It is believed, they are yet ranked among heretics and enemies of the Church; for though they alledge, that the Church has thought proper to expunge an article of religion which anathematized their doctrine, they are still urged with some expressions in the Liturgy, importing, that the *soul exists in joy and felicity, after being delivered from the burden of the flesh*; and to this the soul-sleepers are reminded, they must have subscribed, (if Clerks or Graduates) as well as to the Thirty-nine Articles. And, if I mistake not, a zealous brother (a strenuous adversary to *religious curiosity*) hath lamented, that the revival of this heresy hath been greatly encouraged, if not wholly occasioned, by the dismissal of the article above mentioned: Hence, for ought we know, an additional argument may be formed for enforcing subscription to the present set, as well as a complete justification of those who so vigorously opposed a late Petition, praying relief from such subscription.

For

For an answer to these *important* considerations, the author is contented to refer the objectors to such of their more benevolent brethren, as are inclined to represent subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles and the Liturgy, as a mere mechanical *Manœuvre*, to which the Church and the Law may affix what *internal* character they think fit. Perhaps it may not be impossible to point out subscribers, (strenuous opposers too, of the said Petition) who have strayed as far upon paper, from the genuine sense of the Articles and the Liturgy in *other* doctrines, sufficiently authenticated by them, as the *Soul-sleepers*, so called, have done in supporting their particular opinion.

It ought, however, to be esteemed a great blessing to the literary republic, that liberal minded men of genius, with very different ideas of *church-discipline* and *church-security*, have, in their several controversies, entered freely into the *merits* of the cause in agitation, without too scrupulous a regard to established forms and systems, to which many of them, notwithstanding, profess a most devoted attachment.

The late Petitioners may possibly be of opinion, that a little sincerity or consistency in these matters would neither have enfeebled nor disgraced the performances of these learned authors, some of which, in other respects are highly valuable. It is, however, an incident of no small advantage to the cause of Truth and religious Liberty, that so many considerable writers, should, with their own pens in their own hands, recollect that they are PRO-

TESTANTS, a circumstance that may be easily overlooked, when a Gentleman, in a hurry, borrows the pen of my Lord's chaplain or secretary.

The author of these papers hath been long used to think, that the cause which the ensuing History will be found to favour, has very visible merits, both in illustrating the real effects of our Redeemer's mission, and in establishing the authority of the written records of it, against the claims, interpretations, and decrees of Popery, which he is for attacking at the very root, without the fear of digging up any plant which *our heavenly Father hath planted*, under whatever specious complexion human traditions may pretend to be of the celestial family.

It should be a maxim of the reformed Church of ENGLAND, that the farther she removes from the doctrine and discipline of Rome, the stronger her foundations will be as an evangelical church, and the safer her temporalities, under the protection of her lawful Prince, It were to be wished, that she had not one circumstance in her constitution, either borrowed or copied from the Creeds, Rituals, or Ordinances of the Popish System. The New Testament would supply her with whatever she might want of those kinds, for the faith, the worship, or the government of a Christian church.

This indeed, as times go, is but a kind of *unclerical wish*, and, from the strict conformists to the present theological fashions, may perhaps derive upon the man who avows it, the appellation of AN OVER ZEALOUS PROTESTANT, a term however

ever which comes with no great propriety, as a term of *reproof*, from a writer who hath demonstrated upon the most unquestionable evidence, that *every Papist is bound by his principles to destroy every Protestant, and to break the most solemn covenants he may enter into with people of that denomination, wherever and whenever he may do either with impunity.*

PREFATORY DISCOURSE

SOME THOUGHTS ON THE USE AND IMPORTANCE OF THEOLOGICAL CONTROVERSY

IF it were to be determined by a general ballot, what particular classes of writers should be considered to exerting the greatest influence on the world, it is hardly to be doubted that the first mention would be made of the great writers of the Christian era. They would, in the first place, be pointed out by the members of that great family, among whom the sacred and orderly flow of instruction, and for ever declaring their devotion to all religious institutions, as dangerous to ecclesiastical foundations, blessing their state that the people and governments of an establishment have for them those the temptation of seeking their bread or their fame, out of the beaten track of authority and orthodox confessions (a) With

(a) A certain ingenious writer has indeed suggested that some pious fathers would probably exert themselves

A

PREFATORY DISCOURSE,

CONTAINING

Some Thoughts on the Use and Importance of THEOLOGICAL CONTROVERSY.

IF it were to be determined by a general ballot, what particular classes of writers should be condemned to everlasting silence, polemic divines would infallibly be honoured with the first majority.

They would, in the first place, be proscribed by the members of their own faculty, among whom the sedate and orderly sons of discretion, are forever declaring their aversion to all religious disputation, as dangerous to ecclesiastical foundations, blessing their stars that the repose and emoluments of an establishment, have set them above the temptation of seeking their bread or their fame, out of the beaten track of authorised and orthodox confessions (*a*).

With

(*a*) A certain ingenious writer hath indeed insinuated that some pious fathers would probably exert themselves

With these would agree statesmen and politicians, whose plans and enterprizes might be grievously embarrassed by theological disquisition, of which history affords multitudes of examples (b).

Lawyers,

in this province, “ if the drudgery of controversy were not “ too officiously taken out of their hands.” *Moral and Political Dialogues*, p. 75. Does this Gentleman mean that these officious drudges should stay for the licence of their pious fathers, as was the case in the reigns of the *Jameses* and the *Charleses*? One pious father I could name, who, when these dialogues were published, was still living, an honour and an ornament to the bench he sat upon, not only entertained different sentiments, but nobly published them to the world, in a vigorous and affecting plea for the *Liberty of the Press*, at a time when a plan of politics was in contemplation, which some persons, as it is said, have since attempted, and are yet attempting to realize. May we not hope, that he hath left behind him some pious fathers, animated with the same generous sentiments?

(b) *Politici qui sæpe dogmata vera à falsis, salubria a noxiis non norunt distinguere, omnia nova suspecta habent.* Grot. in *Act.* xvii. 6. Les Princes n'aiment point les grands changemens dans le culte, de peur que leur personne n'en souffre, ou que cela ne soit prejudiciable au gouvernement. *Voyages de Jaques Massè*, ed. 1710, p. 154. A recent instance has shewn, that Ministers of Princes are liable to these panics as well as their masters, and the expedient they have fallen upon to compose their anxieties, has been a little remarkable, viz. an endeavour to stifle religious controversies by cultivating and encouraging the root from which the greater part of them that are now in bloom, have sprung. With all deference to their superior wisdom, the more hopeful way would have been, to have removed the root into an Italian or a Spanish climate; it has done mischief enough in this already; and will probably do more for the care they have taken to preserve it. Surely a statesman of this country must be little better for his experience

Lawyers, Physicians, and Philosophers of different classes, might perhaps foresee little or no inconvenience

rience of the genius of Britons, or his knowledge of their history, who is not aware that all the thunder of ecclesiastical censures, seconded by all the terrors of the secular arm, have never been able to *check* religious controversy upon English ground. Perhaps there never was more of it than at this present time; and the method lately taken to *check* it, will most probably increase it very considerably. The politicians of the last generation wisely gave controversy its free scope, upon a well grounded maxim, that theological disputation seldom or never did any harm to the state, till the state went out of its way to *check* it. Whenever it has been left to its natural operation, it has fallen quietly asleep without the help of *Poppy* or *Mandragora*. And has seldom been awakened but by the hissing of some of the thirty-nine Hydra-heads, which the politics of the present day are so very fearful of displacing. A learned writer treats the attempts of statesmen and others to *check* reasonable reformatations in the church, with the severity they deserve. "In this maxim," says he, (*viz.* that the grand points of Christianity ought to be taken as infallible revelations) "all bigotted divines and free-thinking politicians agree; the one for fear of disturbing the established religion; the other lest the disturbance should prove injurious to their administration of government." *Note upon a letter of Bolingbroke to Swift in Pope's works, vol. IX. p. 121. ed. 1753.* One would imagine the author of this note would have no objection to the *examination*, and, if need be, the *correction* of theological forms and systems. Common fame, however, speaks him to be the same person of whom it is said in *another note*, that, "he is one of those men who wish to see things continue as they are, and not, as the saints *yearn*, to see the rubbish of human ordinances taken out of the way." [*Moral and Political Dialogues, p. 295.*] Would not some people conclude from hence, that he must either be
a bigot-

venience in debates, with which their studies and occupations are understood to have so little connection (c). The suffrage of these however must of course be conformable to the taste of their clients, patients, and patrons.

On another hand, the professors in *polite* literature, the connoisseurs in the *fine*, and the adepts in the *finer* arts, perfectly shudder at the sight of any thing that has a scholastic or a theological air. The spectres of the indelicate *Luther*, and the horrid *Calvin* are ever before their eyes, and the sound of the axes and hammers, wherewith their disciples broke down all the carved work of the mother and mistress of music, painting, and sculpture, is still in their ears; and if future debates should bring on a

a *bigotted divine*, or a *free-thinking politician*? But *consistency* is not the vice of these *moral* and *political* writers. For, would you believe it? This very man who thus sneers *the godly work of reformation*, falls foul, in his *Postscript*, upon *Hume* the historian, for “laying out half of his pains in exposing the absurdities of reformed religion.” Now *Hume’s* pains are chiefly laid out in taxing the reformers themselves with *enthusiasm* and *sedition*. And is not this the very objection which this *Dialogist* and his master have to those, whom he, in derision, calls *saints*? And will they undertake to shew, that the *saints* he means go upon *worse* or *other* principles, than our first reformers?

(c) We are told, however, that the *catholic* Physicians of *France* made the greatest opposition of any others to *Protestants* taking degrees in their faculty after the Edict of *Nantes*. *Comme si la doctrine des Medecins*, says the historian, *avoit de grands interets a demeler avec l’heresie*. Hist. de l’Edit. de *Nantes*, Liv. vi. p. 271.

far-

farther degree of what these *zealots* called reformation, who can answer that a single *Madona* of any character might survive the storm (*d*)?

In one word, this general disaffection to religious controversy, is so prevalent, that if we believe the monthly writers, who cater for readers of all tastes and complexions, there is not one stomach in a thousand that can digest it. Controversial Divinity is accordingly represented in their collections, as stale, insipid, meagre, and nauseous, and, in general, fit for nothing but to be returned upon the hands of those who bring it to market (*e*).

There

(*d*) Crit. Review for Feb. 1762, p. 133. And for June the same year, p. 460. And Mr. Walpole's Anecdotes of painting, vol. III. p. 1. 2. "But it is too much to expect, that
"our virtuoso and divine [Bishop Sprat] should have read
"Tertullian. These are not times wherein men will have
"will or leisure to look into those antiquated studies. To be
"wits and agreeable company, to be poets, to see and understand and write plays, to talk of and to pretend to certain
"toyish experiments, these are cares of such high concernment,
"that philology is but pedantry, and polemical divinity,
"controversies with which we are satiated." STUBB's *Animadversions on the Hist. of the Royal Society*, p. 11.—These indeed are the words of an author highly obnoxious to many of his contemporaries, on account of his indecent acrimony, and extravagant sentiments on different subjects. But the man was no fool, and saw the tendency of that rage for *polishing* which prevailed in these times, and hath had effects, even in our days, which do not much discredit to his sagacity.

(*e*) "There is scarce any species of writing so unprofitable
"to the public, as polemic divinity." *Monthly Review* for September 1764, p. 237. Be it known to the reader, that
one

There have been times however when it bore a better character, and found a more equitable and even honourable reception ; for what particular services

one of the two controversies which drew this remark from these *sentimental* critics, was that called the *Bangorian*, in the event of which, the death-stroke was given to the principles of civil and ecclesiastical tyranny, so that they have never since been able to hold up their heads, not even in the shape of an *Alliance*, under which a craftsman of no ordinary skill, hath more lately endeavoured to revive and reinstate them. An ingenious writer, in the *St. James's Chronicle*, *October 27, 1764*, who stiles himself *Hoadleianus*, thus animadverts on this obnoxious passage. “ But,” say the Reviewers, “ *There is nothing more unprofitable than polemical Divinity. According to some men’s notion of profit, this assertion may be true. Vertu et profit ne marchent pas souvent ensemble. A man is likely to get but very little in these days, who trims his midnight lamp for no other end than the investigation of religious truth, and is known only to the world by an impartial concern to represent and enforce it. The mode of profitable writing is, to compose flattering dedications to proud favourites, or lying eulogiums on prouder prelates ; to extol the illegal proceedings of a corrupt court, and the blessed wisdom of those who eased old England of that vast weight of glory and opulence, which would have sunk us in pride, luxury, and distress. But after all, the satisfaction of that virtuous mind, which is open only to truth, and employed with integrity and affection to promote it, is a profit as infinitely superior to all that can be acquired by literary prostitution, as heaven is to hell. And it need not be added, where any rational sense of God, and duty is entertained, that nothing contributes more to knowledge and happiness than free inquiry, and the discussion of religious truths. It is to these alone that PROTESTANTISM owes all her glory, and to these alone she appeals* “ for

vices may be understood by the following account of the age of *Thomas Becket*, taken from Mr. *David Hume*, a witness in the present case, to whose competency there lies no objection.

“ The spirit of superstition was so prevalent, that
 “ it infallibly caught every careless reasoner, much
 “ more every one whose interest, honour, and am-
 “ bition were engaged to support it. All the
 “ wretched literature of the times, was insisted on
 “ that side. Some faint glimmerings of common
 “ sense might sometimes pierce through the thick

“ for her immutable triumph and defence.” The political zeal of this writer will be thought to have carried him beyond the bounds of discretion, perhaps of decency. His sentiments however, bating the acrimony of his expression, are just and irrefragable; and I am obliged to produce him, in order to shew, that the author of the *Historical View* is not absolutely singular in his opinion of the usefulness of religious controversy to the cause of religion, virtue, and liberty. And I have the more satisfaction in this persuasion, in that when it came to the turn of the *Historical View*, to be *re-viewed*, the critic (the same probably who had exhibited to the public, his own idea of *Hoadley's* and *Jackson's* writings) took his *amende honorable*, in a few sarcasms on the author, and some others, without one significant word in vindication of his remark on polemical divinity. Far am I from derogating from the merit of so useful and laudable works as our periodical *Reviews*. The compilers of them, (if we may believe the Preface to *Junius's* Letters published in octavo) are and have been some of the most *characteristic* names in the kingdom, and indeed some of them likely enough to gibbet such ecclesiastical Patriots as *Hoadley* and *Jackson*, to the best of their skill and abilities. The Reviewers are indeed a fluctuating corps. A Reviewer of 1764, may not now be in existence.

“ cloud

“ cloud of ignorance, or what was worfe, the illu-
 “ fions of perverted fcience, which had blotted out
 “ the fun, and enveloped the face of nature. But
 “ thofe who preferved themfelves untainted from
 “ the general contagion, proceeded on no princi-
 “ ples which they could pretend to juftifie. They
 “ were more beholden to their total want of in-
 “ ftruction, than to their knowledge, if they ftill
 “ retained fome fhare of underftanding. Folly was
 “ poffeffed of all the fchools, as well as all the
 “ churches, and her votaries affumed the garb of
 “ philofophers, together with the enfigns of fpiri-
 “ tual dignities (f).”

To difperfe thefe clouds of folly and fuperfti-
 tion, was, I apprehend, from the very nature of the
 cafe, the proper work of theological controverfy,
 and this work, history informs us, theological con-
 troverfy performed. *Roger Bacon* was one of the
 firft who felt the incumbrance of fuperftition, and
 the influence it had in controuling all his endea-
 vours to propagate learning and fcience in various
 branches. He was accordingly obliged to fight his
 way through many eftablifhed follies and abfurdi-
 ties, in order to introduce thofe amazing plans,
 which are ftill doing honour to his name and me-
 mory (g). 'Tis true, he fo far failed, that fuper-
 ftition ftill kept its ground, and prevented, in a
 great meafure, the raifing any fuperfttructures of

(f) *Hume's Hift.* vol. I. p. 294. 4to.

(g) See *Bacon's* (Roger) article in the *Biogr. Britan.*
 Rem. (c).

consequence upon *Bacon's* foundations, for full two hundred years. At length arose *Martin Luther*, who, confining all his powers to theological controversy, laid bare the superstition of the times to the very root, and exposed it in all its deformity, to the view of the whole world. From this period true religion and useful learning sprung up together at a thousand openings, were cherished by the kindly heat of patronage and emulation, and plentifully watered by the free course of rational debate, to which the uncontrouled examination of the scriptures gave the first occasion (*b*).

Mr.

(*b*) *Dr. Middleton* is no inconsiderable authority to our purpose. Speaking of *Brutus' and Cicero's* correspondence he tells us, that, “As the genuin letters subsisted till the
“purity of the Latin was lost, so these remains which are
“now in our hands, were actually in being *long before* that
“purity revived, being cited by *Petrarch*, *two centuries before* the reformation.” Which he consequently considers as the epoch whence taste and fine writing began to flourish in *Europe*. *Dissert. on these Epist.* p. XIV. A book was put into the Index expurgatorius, anno 1677, with an Appendix, *De abominanda barbarie quæ rem literariam ante LUTHERUM sedavarat*. See the Roman Index of *Benedict XIV.* published in the year 1758. p. 182. at the word MITTERNACHT. An early and valuable testimony to the superior learning of the *Reformed*, was given by *Francis Baudouin*, or *Baldwin*, in a discourse drawn up by him, and sent to the King of *Spain* in 1564, with a view to compose the religious feuds in the *Netherlands*, and to prevail, if possible, for a toleration of the Protestants. This discourse is preserved in the eighth book of *John Francis Petit's* General History of the *Netherlands*, and the passage I refer to, is thus translated by
Grimston.

Mr. *Hume* indeed hath said elsewhere, that “ the
 “ spirit of popish superstition was no hindrance to
 “ the introduction of literature, or even of liber-
 “ ty (i).” But reconcile this who can, with what
 he says, p. 286, of the volume already cited, *viz.*
 “ that the prevailing opinions and sentiments of
 “ the age [of *Becket*] were matter of principle and
 “ conscience.” In that case surely, they must con-
 tinue to keep the mind in the darkness and slavery
 above described, till they were refuted and explo-
 ded; and that they never were to any purpose till
 the time of *Luther*’s reformation. If Mr. *Hume*
 thinks fit to contradict himself, it is nothing to me.
 There are certain seasons when authors lose the sen-
 sation of their own prejudices, and then it is you
 may follow them with the greatest safety. The
 passage I have cited from Mr. *Hume*, concerns a
 period of time, when the protestant reformation
 was out of sight, when Mr. *Hume* perhaps thought

Grimston. “ Moreover, we must in despite of our selves,
 “ confesse, that the greatest and best wits, and the most
 “ learned men maintain their partie, [the Protestant party.]
 “ I will not disgrace the others. But if we will lay aside all
 “ favour and affection, we shall find that the most excellent
 “ wits have been, and are of their profession: Yea, the re-
 “ stauration of arts and sciencies, (the which were buried in
 “ darknesse) is come from them. The knowledge of the
 “ tongues, especially the Greek and Hebrew, hath been beau-
 “ tified more by them, than by any others.” *Grimston*’s Trans-
 lation of *Petit*’s Hist. p. 364.

(i) See the masterly Letters on Mr. *Hume*’s History, printed
 for *Sands* and *Donaldson* at *Edinburgh*, 1758. Letters IV.
 and V.

not

not of it; when the force of truth extorted from him a representation, which his aversion to our first Reformers was not at hand to controul.

A more recent critic, who is otherwise disposed to do our first Reformers full justice, seems to me to have blamed them in the wrong place, by not distinguishing sufficiently between the effects of ecclesiastical tyranny, and the effects of those controversies to which *that* gave occasion.

“ The Calvinistical principles of the *Genevan* discipline, he tells us, tended to inspire a persecuting spirit: polemical writings conduced to inflame religious dispositions (*k*).

And is not this equally true of the *episcopal* principles of *English* discipline, and of the inflammatory polemic writings in our own country an hundred years after *Calvin* was in his grave? And were there no *improvements* going forward during that whole century? The honest truth is, that these very controversies first struck out, and, in due time, perfected those noble and generous principles of religious and civil liberty, which, too probably, without these struggles, or something of the same sort, would hardly have been well understood to this very hour. It is to the controversies about the *Geneva*-discipline, that we owe the efforts of the excellent *Castellio* to disgrace the infernal doctrine of punishing heretics capitally. And though it may be said of him, *magnis tamen excidit ausis*,

(*k*) See the Critical Review for July 1764, art i. p. 8.

yet did not his documents *starve* with him (l), but being bred up and gradually nourished by certain choice spirits, became strong enough, in the next century, to bring the great patron and practiser of the vile doctrine in our own country, to the block.

Our Critic goes on. “The contests ran high between the Papists and the Lutherans; and the rage of controversy took place of calm reasoning, candid enquiry, and cool disquisition.”

This is writing backwards. But no matter; let us attend him. It would be very obliging if this gentleman would inform us where all this *calm reasoning, candid enquiry, and cool disquisition* were to be found, *before* the contest between the Papists and the Lutherans commenced. If they had not *then* existed, the rage of controversy could not *then* take place of them. If *calmness* and *candor* were then common things in men’s disquisitions, in what instance, we request to know, were they superseded by the rage of controversy? When *Luther* first attacked Indulgences, publicly, by posting up his Theses, he declared, that *calm reasoning and candid enquiry* into the truth, was all he aimed at. To this *Maimbourg* bears witness, as well as *Sleidan* and *Seckendorf* (m). And the truth of it is confirmed

(l) *Castellio*, after his dismissal from *Geneva*, lived and died at *Basil* in the utmost poverty. See *Bayle’s Dictionary*.

(m) Non pas, dit il [i. e. *Luther*] pour les [Theses] affirmer et les soutenir comme veritables, mais seulement pour les examiner (dans une dispute reglee) a fin qu’on pût s’eclaircir de la verite. *Maimb. Hist. Luth. liv. i. p. 31. Sleidan, lib.*

firmed by the calm and even submissive letters he wrote to the Pope, the Archbishop of *Mentz*, and the Bishop of *Brandenburgh*. The rage of controversy,

lib. i. p. 1, 2. *Seckendorf*, lib. i. p. 24. How the case stood in *Germany* before *Luther's* time, we may learn from the following account. Ante tempora *Lutheri*, et ipsius quoque ætate, risus paschales a *Clericis* ita inveci fuerint, ut jocosa adagia, in linguam quasi eorum fuerint conversa. Uti etiam constat universam nationem Germanicam in summis, mediis, infimis, in compositione verborum fuisse impolitam, crudem et agrestem; multaque liberior loqui solitam, quæ hodie in pessime moratis haud ferrentur. De *Luthero* id exploratum est, adagia ipsius, quæ nobis sæpius joci scurriles esse videntur, non ex quâdam vel levitate, vel scurrilitate, vel neglectâ gravitate profecta esse, sed ex vehementia ejus, et studio planè et perspicuè loquendi: quæ animi adfectiones ori et sermoni ejus ea suggererunt, quæ ipsi visa sunt, in legentium, præsertim Germanorum suorum animos maxime penetratura. *Hernschmadius* de vitâ *Lutheri*, p. 119. edit. 1742, a *Georgio Knappio*. Nor was the mild *Melancthon* uninfected with this common humour of the times. *Non vident isti Asini*, says he, in one place, *apud Hieronymum contra Vigilantium*, nullam extare syllabam de Invocatione, *Apolog. Conf. Aug. cap. de Invoc. Sanct.* And yet these *Asses* were no other than the Divines, who, under the protection of the Emperor *Charles V.* drew up a confutation of the *Ausburgh Confession*. This indecency however, was not peculiar to *Germany*. The controversy between *Laurentius Valla* and *Poggius* in *Italy*, abounds with the most scandalous scurrility. [See the Preface to *Revius's* notes on *Valla*, *De Collatione Novi Testamenti*]. *Poggius* styles him, *Ostentator insane, perfide fidei decoctor*. *Valla* returns him, *Homo tartaræ, Satanae frater, ignis æterni sempiternum pabulum, Italiæ dedecus, sæculi turpitudine, civitatis sterquilinium*, &c. *Varillas* says, *Valla* led up this fashion of writing, and *Mr. Bayle* only confronts him with two writers

verſy, it is owned, began on this occaſion, by the fury of *Eccius* and *Prierias*: and whatever this learned critic may think, if theſe men, and their fellows

of nearly the ſame age, *Vergerius* and *Petrarch*, and neither of them controvertiſts in Divinity. [See *Valla's* Article in *Bayle's* Dictionary.] But what is moſt extraordinary, we find even the meek ſpirited *Erasmus*, who could not away with *Luther's* acrimony, not only apologiſing for, but defending the practice in *Valla*. Here follows part of what he ſays on the ſubject. —*Laurentianum* nomen apud omnes qui bonas amant literas, pro invidioſo, gratum et venerandum habetur; quippe qui ſtudio reſtituendæ rei literariæ, partes multo odioſiſſimas ſciens ac prudens ſibi ſumpſerit. Neque enim non videbat vir acutus, tam inveteratum morbum non poſſe ſanari, niſi *triftibus pharmacis, uſturis et ſectionibus*, idque *magno cum dolore plurimorum*; neque vero neſciebat, adeo delicatas eſſe mortalium aures, ut vix etiam inter bonos viros invenias qui verum libenter audiat; foreque, ut non ii tantum exclamarent *quorum ulcera tetigiſſet*, verum etiam illi, qui ex alieno malo ſibi metum fingerent. Tamen *pio quodam calore percitus*, nullum laborem, nullam recuſavit invidiam, modo paucis non ingratis (omnes autem gratos eſſe oportebat) beneficium ſuum commendaret. — Jam vero quod quorſdam in totum damnavit, [*Laurentius*] quid, obſecro, tam erat neceſſarium, quam indoctis autoritatem, hoc eſt, *ὄνω τὴν λεοντίνην* detrudere, ne turbæ imperitorum, peſſima pro optimis ſequeretur? Quibus in rebus, ſi quando vir ille videtur nimis exſcandescere, non hujus vitio, ſed depravatoribus iſtis erat imputandum. Denique nimio conſultius fuerat alieno abuti vitio, quam ob unam maculam a tot commoditatibus alienari. Sunt enim prorſum quædam *αναγκαία κακὰ*, quibus tamen vel ſua cauſa ſapientes, abuti conſueverunt. — Itaque unius *Laurentii* mordacitas (ſiquidem ita malunt appellare) non paulò plus conduxit rei literariæ quam plurimorum *ineptus candor*, omnia omnium ſine delectu mirantium, ſibi que in-

cem

fellows had not been followed and exposed in their own way, in all human probability, every advantage which the writer of this essay himself ascribes to the protestant reformation, had been disappointed.

“ But though,” continues our critic, “ the virulence of these disputants retarded, for a time, the progress of arts, sciences, and belles lettres, yet some extraordinary geniuses adorned the 15th century, whose enlightened understandings surmounted all obstacles.”

In what one instance, can it be pretended, that the virulence of these disputants retarded the progress of arts, &c. for a single moment? *Luther* himself, at least, is innocent of the charge, who was a connoisseur in music; not only a performer, but a skilful composer (n). And one of his domestic concerts, where *Luther* himself presides, is the subject of a capital picture by *Titian* now to be seen in *Scotland* (o). He was also an ingenious designer, of which a remarkable instance is preserved by *Sleidan* (p). And, as *Dr. Fortin* expresses it, sacri-

cem plaudentium, ac mutuum, quod aiunt, scabentium. *Erasm.* Epist. Lib. iv. Epist. 7. Ed. Lond. 1642. where there is more to the same purpose. If *Luther* had given *Erasmus* a fee to plead for him on this accusation of virulence, this brief, with a little alteration, would have served the turn.

(n) *Seckendorf*, lib. i. p. 21.

(o) In the collection of the Right Hon^{ble} the Earl of *Kinnoul* at *Duplin* Castle.

(p) *Sleidan*. Com. lib. xvi. p. 344. fol.

ficed to the Graces in some elegant latin verses (*q*); and all this in the midst of the *rage* and *virulence* of controverfy, of which he bore the greatest burden every way. How many thousand artists and philosophers were there in those days, to whose progress these disputes did not, could not give the least interruption?

But who, after all, were these extraordinary Geniuses, who, in spite of polemic divinity, adorned the 15th century? Will the reader believe that the only instance produced is our SHAKESPEARE? who was not born till half of the 16th century was run out? With the like want of precision are *Bacon*, *Raphael*, and *Holbein* referred by this writer to one and the same period; and the pleasantry of it is, that such men as *Shakespeare* and *Holbein* should have obstacles thrown in their way by polemic divinity!

Many others of the same cast with our critic have retailed these random censures on theological controverfy, against whom however we can appeal to writers of the first eminence, who have had the candor and the conscience to acknowledge that science and literature are indebted to it for some of their most valuable improvements. “But then, say our contemporaries, it was but in the way of *scaffolding*; which, the building being so far advanced, may be spared, and the finishings executed to better advantage without it.”

All in good time. Are you sure that science and

(*q*) Life of *Erasmus*, vol. I. p. 126. and see *Seckendorf*, lib. iii. p. 165, where there are specimens.

literature, in their present state, may not still be beholden to theological disquisition, even in the inferior province of *scaffolding*? There may be some insignificant sorts of literature, the farther improvement of which would not quit the cost: and it would be absurd to say that theology, as a science, hath a necessary or immediate connexion with all other branches of learning of more importance. What I plead is this. While debate and examination are allowed and countenanced in matters of religion, which is of the highest concern, there would be no danger that the door should be shut against disquisitions of another nature and tendency. But if the popular religion should once be settled into an uncontrollable form, consider the consequence. System, whether composed of popish or protestant materials, is system still; the child of pride and avarice, and the fondling of tyrants, hypocrites and bigots. By these science and literature of all kinds have ever been suspected, as unfavourable to orthodox foundations. Who knows what the sons of genius may strike out in our own, or in future times? Would you put it in the power of those who patronize the system in vogue, to check these efforts by the narrow bounds they are disposed to prescribe? Be provident therefore, if you will not be grateful. Encourage examination and rational debate for your own sakes. Keep open the door for others that it may not be shut against yourselves (*r*).

“ But

(*r*) “ Learning owes its flourishing state to the press, and
 “ as any branch of learning may chance to be connected with

“ But modern controversy is dull, trifling, un-
 “ important, and insipid ; and what is still worse,
 “ carried on with a rudeness and acrimony highly
 “ offen-

“ some scheme of policy, the restraints of a licence or *impru-*
 “ *matur*, would cramp and fetter ingenious minds to such a
 “ degree, that they would compose themselves to rest, and
 “ leave learned and curious disquisitions, for such puerilities in
 “ literature as cannot offend.” *Essay on the Liberty of the Press*,
 p. 40. Nothing can be more judicious than Mrs *Macaulay*’s
 reflection on the conduct of Charles 1st’s Parliament of 1628, in
 taking cognisance of the religious disputes then on foot. Had
 they, instead of vindicating the narrow system of the English
 Confession, supposed by them to be the established doctrine of
 the Church, employed their theological talents in the discus-
 sion of the principles of religious liberty, they would have
 shewn themselves “ possessed of an *essential qualification* neces-
 “ sary to form able legislators.” She observes, however, that
 they entered upon this province, “ to serve the best pur-
 “ poses,” namely, to discourage the encroachments of su-
 perstition on the civil rights of mankind. “ Modes of faith,”
 says this valuable historian, “ powerfully operate on every go-
 “ vernment ; and the ecclesiastical constitution of a country
 “ has an irresistible influence on the political. We must con-
 “ sider, therefore, these illustrious patriots as combating er-
 “ rors, which, however trivial they may appear on a slight
 “ view, yet carried with them alarming consequences to Li-
 “ berty.” *Hist. of England*, vol. ii. 4to, p. 57. Sensible
 of all this, Archbishop *Laud*, by a *Declaration* he procured to
 be prefixed to the thirty-nine articles, attempted to silence
 the theological disputes between the Calvinists and Armi-
 nians so far at least, that the former might draw no aid
 from their principles of religion to contravene his Master’s
 attempts on the civil liberties of his people. I cannot indeed
 agree with Mrs *Macaulay*, that “ the essential points of faith
 “ in Arminianism, had nothing in them repugnant” [or those
 of

“offensive to politeness and sometimes to common
 “decency; and particularly scandalising in the cle-
 “rical order, where the greatest number of polemic
 “writers are to be found.”

But

of Puritanism, nothing in them favourable] “to the freedom
 “of the English constitution.” This, however, is not mate-
 rial to the point I would illustrate by her just reflection on the
general conduct of the Parliament, and their patriotic inten-
 tion. And to justify these it was sufficient, that the Armini-
 ans “were studiously bent to exalt the power of churchmen,
 “and were wedded to those forms and ceremonies that de-
 “grade the pure spirit of religion, into an idolatrous worship
 “of the objects of sense, &c.” But to combat these evils
 with success and effect, it was perhaps necessary for the pa-
 triots, occasionally “to metamorphose themselves into *mere*
 “*gown-men* ;” and indeed would have been necessary, in
 whatever way they had undertaken to beat down the usurpa-
 tions of church-power, and the pernicious influence of the
 superstition then encouraged. Would to God we had seen
 more of these *mere gown-men*, in these latter times, *capable*
 and *willing* to examine, in the same department, into the
 principles on which such laws as the last *Act of Uniformity* are
 founded. It is for want of such *mere gown-men* in Parliament,
 from time to time, that Mrs *Macaulay* has occasion to observe,
 “that the most obnoxious of those ceremonies which *Laud* so
 “childishly insisted on, were established at the restoration,
 “and have been ever since regularly practised in the church.”
Vol. iv. p. 144. Another sort of *gown-men* indeed have ari-
 sen more lately, who have declared it *criminal* to *revile* [in
 plain English, *to find fault with*] those institutions, with
 which the honest and illustrious patriots of 1628, made so
 free; and to clench the matter, have added to this decision,
 the comfortable doctrine that they are *irrevocably* bound upon
 us to the end of time.

*** Since this note was written, we have heard this doc-
 trine

But who are the greatest sufferers by dull, trifling, insipid performances? surely either the authors, or the retailers of them; but most commonly the former. And would you envy such men the privilege of gratifying their vanity, at a sort of expence which of all others brings them the soonest to repentance? Is there any fear that capable and judicious readers should over-rate such writers? And

trine exploded in the Honourable House of Commons, both by the friends and opponents of a late *Petition* for relief in the matter of subscription, &c. But the friends of Christian Liberty have heard more. They have heard their cause supported in that honourable Assembly, with powers of reasoning, and a comprehension of the full merits of it, which would have done honour to the Patriots of any period of our history, and with a liberality of sentiment, which sets them far above the character of *mere gown-men*, whether we consider the narrowness of the systematic tramels, or the precise scholastic mood and figure in which the *gown-men* of the last generation were trained to their exercises. Nor do I mean to detract from the worth or abilities of those Gentlemen by whom the *Petition* had the misfortune to be opposed and rejected. The case was new to them; and it is hardly possible that the clamours, abuse, and misrepresentation of violent and prejudiced men without doors, should leave even very ingenuous minds without some degree of prepossession against a cause and its abettors, which was *every where spoken against*. The cause however is now before the public, and it is to be supposed, in a different light from that in which it first appeared. Farther discussion will give it still more strength and credit; and the Petitioners have every thing to hope in a future trial, from the judgment, candour, and piety of those to whom, under God, they commit their cause, and from the evidence they have given of the simplicity and godly sincerity of their own upright intentions.

have

have not others as much right to indulge their *taste* as you or I? In the mean time there are writers in the same province of real merit. Let all of them have a fair trial, and a candid hearing, and proscribe the blockheads as soon as you will (s.)

The wrath, acrimony, insolence, and dogmatic spirit of some controversial writings are, we own, indefensible. They are not pardonable in those who have the best cause in the world, and are in other respects, the ablest defenders of it. Nevertheless, these are, in some instances, necessary evils; in others they will admit of extenuation. In some men an eager spirit is the fault of constitution. From others, even good men, angry or satyrical expressions may be forced by just provocation. “If any
“where (says one of our Great Grandfathers) I
“have used more sharpness than is pleasing to men
“who would have all polemical writings managed

(s) The Critics, however, would have but an indifferent time of it in attempting this proscription. The blockheads are a powerful party, and in nine instances in ten, have the *junctas phalanges* on their side, especially in theological controversy. Mr. *Le Clerc* has endeavoured to furnish the critics with a criterion in this difficult province. *Parrhasiana*, Tom. ii. Article 1. And tells us in another place, that, “he has
“there said enough to distinguish controversies which are
“useful from those which are not.” *Bibl. Choisie*, Tom. iii. p. 195. The consequence was, that the blockheads proscribed Mr. *Le Clerc* in their turn, and by their prolocutor *Cave*, declared him *an Enemy to Christian Divines*. *Parrhas*, Tom. i. art. 10. To which an old Nonjuror in one of our Universities, added his suffrage, that the said *Le Clerc* deserved no mercy.

“with-

“ without passion, I shall only say, that the Drs.
 “ (*Heylin's*) hard grating, hath sharpened my style,
 “ and made it more keen and piercing, than I could
 “ have allowed myself to use towards a good-na-
 “ tured adversary. 'Tis almost morally impossible
 “ for him, who contends with a fiery and furious
 “ antagonist, not to be sometimes a little overheated.” If the hands of every writer were to be tied, who does not keep within the strict bounds of Christian moderation and lenity, I know some individuals of other classes, who would be as impatient under the restraint as any divine of them all. And why should divines be obliged to set an example, which writers on other subjects are not obliged to follow?

Mr. *Bayle*, in one of his fits of candor, finds fault with Mr. *Claude* for saying, in excuse of *Luther's* intemperate style, that, “ Perhaps there was
 “ some particular necessity, at the time of the re-
 “ formation, to employ the strongest expressions to
 “ awaken men from that profound slumber, in
 “ which they had lain so long.” Whereupon Mr. *Bayle* observes that, “ because God is pleased some-
 “ times to make use of such instruments, it will
 “ not follow that violence and passion are commen-
 “ dable, upon pretence that the corruption of the
 “ world needs the harshest treatment (*t*).” I apprehend Mr. *Claude* did not think of commending *Luther's* passion and violence; on the contrary, he wishes he had been more temperate in his writings.

(*t*) *Bayle's* Dict. *Luther* [T]

So

So do I, if his intemperance, upon any occasion, led him into calumny or falsehood; which however in descending to particular instances, would bear a dispute (*u*). For the rest, if the times wanted *Luther*, they wanted him with all his appurtenances; nor could his zeal, or what is called his *intemperance*, have been spared, without wanting the Reformation too (*x*).

But

(*u*) For instance, where he says *Jerom Aleander* was born a Jew. Others had said so before *Luther*; and though *Aleander*, in refuting this imputation, insisted upon being descended from the Marquisses of *Istria*, yet it was said, that family knew nothing of him; and Mr. *Bayle* himself is obliged to leave the matter in uncertainty. *Dict. Aleander* [G].

(*x*) *Melchior Adam*, having insinuated that *Luther* might have made greater proficiency in his youthful studies than he did, if he had met with proper masters, adds, *Et sortassis ad leniendam vehementiam naturæ, mitiora studia veræ philosophiæ, et cura formandæ orationis profuissent*. *Vit. Luth.* p. 102. *Luther* studied the scriptures with the utmost attention and assiduity, and wanted no helps to understand them, which the age afforded. If this study could not correct any blameable vehemence in *Luther's* nature, what true philosophy might that be, which would have done the business more effectually? With respect to the event, it was much better as it was. How fit a more temperate and polite scholar would have been for the work *Luther* went through, may be conjectured by considering the conduct of *Erasmus*, who, with all *Luther's* convictions upon his mind, could never bring himself nearer a reformation than some satyrical strokes upon the stupidity and impostures of Monkery, severe enough indeed in some instances, but of no great significance from the pen of such a writer, who idolized the Pope and the great churchmen of his time, the patrons and upholders of every religious abuse

and

But every intemperate writer is not a *Luther*, nor intitled to the same allowances. Let us therefore freely consign all passionate polemics to those officers

and corruption, with the most abject adulation. He would have had *Luther* to have followed his example in this. *Admonui, [Lutherum] ut parceret Romano Pontifici, cujus auctoritatem expedit haberi sacrosanctam, parceret Principum celsitudini, qui conviciis affecti, aut intempestivius admoniti, non solum non redduntur meliores, sed exacerbati perniciosas aliquoties excitant tempestates, fitque ut et monitori sua pereat auctoritas, interdum et vita, et monito suus fructus. Siquidem ut veritati nunquam fas est adversari, ita celare nonnunquam expedit in loco. Semper autem plurimum refert quam in tempore, quam commode et attemperate eam proferas. Quædam inter se fatentur Theologi, quæ vulgo non expediat efferri. Et sæpe sanat admonitio tempestiva, blanda ac civilis, quos perderet sæva et intempestiva objurgatio, Epist. Laur. Campegio. an. 1520.* Erasmus, no doubt, thought these very wise maxims, and we must suppose he practised accordingly. But unfortunately he had none of those *fruits* to shew, which should have been brought forth by his *civil blandishments* of the Pope and other potentates of his time. And as *Luther* had the cool and barren endeavours of *Erasmus* before him to profit by, he wisely went to work another way, and succeeded. *Melancthon*, in his funeral oration for *Luther*, [apud *Seckendorf*, Lib. iii. p. 649,] mentions, that *Erasmus* often said, *Deus dedit huic postremæ ætati, propter morborum magnitudinem, acrem medicum*, meaning *Luther*. The orator did not wrong *Erasmus*. He had the same sentiment under *Erasmus*'s own hand. *Plane, ne dicam dolo, sic undique corrupti mores Christianorum, flagitabant immitem aliquem castigatorem, Epist. 3. Lib. xix. Edit. Lond. 1642, col. 817.* Here we see *Erasmus* does not qualify his sentiment even with Mr. *Claude*'s PERHAPS. We see likewise, that the corruption of the world, in those days, was

cers of justice in the republic of Letters, who, to give them their due, are not slack in bringing offenders of this kind to condign punishment.

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After

was more than a *pretence*, and though *passion* and *violence* are not *commendable* in themselves, yet being used as instruments of reformation in the hand of Providence, with good effect, they deserve at least a more commendable name. Our countryman, *John Milton*, was full as good a judge of these matters as *Mr. Bayle*. Here follows *his* apology for *Luther's* acrimony. Having mentioned some instances of prophetic severity from the scriptures, he goes on thus. “ But ye will
 “ say, these had immediate warrant from God to be thus
 “ bitter, and I say, so much the plainlier it is proved, that
 “ there may be a sanctified bitterness against the enemies of
 “ truth. Yet that ye may not think inspiration only the war-
 “ rant thereof, but that it is, as any other virtue, of moral
 “ and general observation, the example of *Luther* may stand
 “ for all ; whom God made choice of before others, to be of
 “ highest eminence and power in reforming the church ;
 “ who, not of revelation, but of judgment, writ so vehe-
 “ mently against the chief defenders of old untruths in the
 “ *Romish* Church, that his own friends and favourers were
 “ many times offended with the fierceness of his spirit. Yet he
 “ being cited before *Charles V.* to answer for his books, and
 “ having divided them into three sorts, whereof one was
 “ of those which he had sharply written, refused, though
 “ upon deliberation given him, to retract or unsay any word
 “ therein, as we may read in *Sleidan*. Yea, he defends
 “ his eagerness, as being of an ardent spirit, and one who
 “ could not write in a dull stile ; and affirmed, he thought
 “ it God's will to have the inventions of men thus laid open,
 “ seeing that matters quietly handled, were quickly forgot.
 “ And herewithal, how useful and available God had made
 “ this tart Rhetoric in the churches cause, he often found by
 “ his own experience. For when he betook himself to lenity,
 “ and

After all, may there not be a little affectation in this general clamour against warm and satyrical disputants? Is human nature so totally mortified in all

“and moderation, *as they call it*, he reaped nothing but
 “contempt, both from *Cajetan* and *Erasmus*, from *Cochlæus*,
 “from *Eccius* and others; infomuch, that blaming his
 “friends who had so counselled him, he resolved never to
 “run into the like error. If at other times he seem to excuse
 “his own vehemence, as more than what was meet, I have
 “not examined through his work, to know how far he gave
 “way to his own fervent mind. It shall suffice me to look
 “to mine own.” [*Vid. Milton’s Prose Works, Folio, Edit. 1697. p. 340.*] And indeed *Milton* here only brings the example of *Luther* to justify the liberty he had taken with the prelati- cal advocates of that time, whom he represents as *notorious enemies to truth, and their countries peace*, (in the very same colours in which *Luther* had painted his Romish Adversaries) and consequently, *to be handled with a rougher accent, &c.* Without looking for minute resemblances, and stating the precise differences between the present and preceding men and times, we daily hear complaints, on the one hand, of errors, corruptions, and glaring incongruities in our ecclesiastical establishment; and on the other, of the *acrimony* with which these things are exposed, and the *bitter reproofs* given to those men who defend, palliate, and support them. In the mean while, the haughty churchmen make reprisals, neither with more decency, nor with equal reason. The most rude abuse of a dissenter from the established system, is, in a Divinity Professor, *official*; in a Dignitary fattened with the sops of the church, *justice* and *honour*. At all this, those good souls, who

would all were well, so ’twere not long of them,
 are grievously scandalized, but take care, however, to balance towards the surer side; praising *the mild and moderate spirit of church-governors* for — not exercising the powers (which,
 thanks

all those who pretend to be scandalized at this way of managing controversy, that they immediately throw by every book which has any sprinklings of *Attic salt*, or even of *Roman wormwood*? I once knew a very great and good man who was ingenuous enough to acknowledge, *He had greatly profited by some books in which he should hardly have read*

thanks to the *civil* part of our constitution, they have not) against *intrepid and precipitant champions for the Dissenters*: One of whom, I trow, did not conclude *with precipitation*, that a discourse which came forth with the *ensigns of authority* in its front, was *expressive of the genuine sense and spirit of our church-establishment*; especially unapprised, as he seems to have been, that the discourse itself might not be *expressive* either of the *sense* or *spirit* of that respectable individual from whom the tyrant *Formality*, wrested those *ensigns*. When such discourses as that of Dr. Balguy, which ascribes so much to *mere human institutions*, at the expence of the instruction afforded us by the Scriptures; are published in a country where the Protestant religion is openly *professed*,—when a writer, who is acknowledged to be a *resolute maintainer of the grand principle which gave birth to the reformation, and to which our church still professes to adhere, is, UPON THAT VERY ACCOUNT, most bitterly reproached, as her declared adversary*, what would the ingenious *Tyro-Phileleutherus* have a man, who is desirous of preserving the Protestant religion in its native simplicity, say to the reproachers? He himself may, if he chuses it, pay them the complement of a *mild and moderate spirit*, and try to worm himself, and his own pacific pleas for reformation, out of the reach of their petulant censures; but let him not be forward to blame those as too *peremptory and acrimonious*, who cannot see any thing in those censures, but a Pharisaical obstinacy in precluding all inquiry into the abuses, corruptions, and absurdities of the reigning system, and who, in consequence of so seeing, exhibit the censurers with their proper *insignia*.

three pages, if they had not been enlivened by a sort of spirit by no means allied to Christian meekness.

But the most provoking circumstance in this case is, that numbers of writers complain of this offensive acrimony in others, who are much less faulty than themselves (y). These should never be looked upon in any other light, than as seeking apologies for indulging their own licentious genius, at the expence of much better men than themselves, who never gave them the least pretence for retaliations of this kind: of which some very striking examples might be produced.

Perhaps, if one were to inquire strictly into the causes why certain rescripts, of no small intrinsic merit, and on no trifling subjects, have met with so cool a reception in the world, it would be found that the gentle, modest, and pacific manner, in which the authors of them have delivered their

(y) “ He (*Voltaire*) is always talking of reason, humanity, forbearance, and mildness: he is always lamenting the indecent quarrels and animosities that prevail too much among men of learning; and perhaps no man living acts more in opposition to these pompous professions. He has composed an agreeable and witty chapter concerning *printed Lies*; and no author certainly hath printed more than he himself.” *Annual Register*, 1762, p. 50. Think not, reader, I have gone to France for want of examples at home. They were bold *Britons* who gave occasion to the poet to remark,

That, Candour's maxims flow from Rancour's throat.

Nor has any man been louder in his complaints of this sort, than the most *abusive* writer of our own times and country.

fenti-

sentiments, has contributed more than any thing else to their being so little regarded (z). And this I take to have been the case with that particular question, on which the ensuing papers are employed. The learned Bishop of *Carlisle's* Appendix to his *Considerations*, &c. is so drawn up, as not to give the least affront either to those who hold the contrary doctrine upon the credit of the church, or to any particular writer who hath explained his own sense of the matter to the public. Mr. *Peckard's* first and second observations, as well as his answer to Mr. *Fleming*, are patterns of politeness and moderation, as well as of solid reasoning and good sense. Yet have both these writers been treated by their opponents with some rudeness, attended with invidious and groundless insinuations. And though their adversaries are, upon this subject at least, the weakest of all weak writers, yet have they, to all outward appearance, carried their point; the generality of popular speakers or writers, who have occasion to touch upon the future condition of the human soul, adhering still to the system of a *con-*

(z) A pregnant instance of this, is the book called *Free and candid Disquisitions relating to the church of England*, &c. to which the greatest objection with some persons was, the humble and submissive terms in which the authors of that work delivered their sentiments and proposals, called by some people, *cant* and *whining*. Thus it was of old, and thus it is still. There are subjects of the utmost importance to the credit and advancement of true religion, to which, whether they who handle them *pipe* or *mourn*, the men of *this* generation will pay no attention. *Whereunto shall they be likened?*

scious intermediate state, resting, as they would have it believed, upon the complicated evidence of scripture and philosophy.

I remember a remark somewhere, that the generality of readers, when they meet with a writer of controversy who keeps within the bounds of moderation and civility, and more particularly if he expresses the least diffidence with respect to any part of his argument, presently conclude, that such a man does not interest himself greatly for the truth of his cause, and that consequently the matter in debate is of no especial importance.

Whether for this, or for some other reason, there is room to believe that this is the judgment that is most commonly formed of the dispute concerning the *intermediate state* of man between death and the resurrection. It is supposed to be a matter of indifference to christians who believe a resurrection of the dead, and a final judgment, in what condition the man, or the soul, after the death of the body, remains, during the interval.

In order therefore to shew the slender foundation there is for a prejudice of this sort, it will be necessary once more to state the case, and to examine what pretensions this question may have to the attention of the serious, dispassionate, and reasonable part of mankind?

The question is, whether the scriptures afford any just and solid grounds for the popular doctrine of the immortality of the soul of man, and particularly, any evidence of its existence, when disunited from the body, in a state of conscious perception; and

and whether, in consequence of this notion, there is not a certain intermediate state of happiness and misery for good and wicked men respectively, between death and the general resurrection?

They who hold the negative in these points, alledge, that according to the scriptures, life and immortality were brought to light by the Gospel of Christ, in a sense exclusive of all other teachers, and all other revelation, at least from the birth of *Moses* downwards; exclusive likewise of all information from the light of nature, or the result of philosophical disquisition on the substance or qualities of the human soul. They insist that Christ is *the way, the truth, and the life*, so that no man cometh to the father [so as to be like him, and to see him as he is in a future state] but by the mediatorial power of Christ. That the way of coming to God, in the sense, and by the means abovementioned, is *the resurrection of the dead*, of which, assurance is given unto all men, by the resurrection of JESUS. They hold moreover, that the sentence pronounced upon our first parents, imported a total deprivation of life, without any reserve or saving to the life of the soul (a); and consequently, that

(a) The distinction between the life of Adam's *soul*, and the life of his *body*, seems to have risen from, or at least to have been greatly encouraged by, a blunder of *Philo Judeus*, in a passage quoted, and praised by *Grotius* on *Luke* iii. 38. The *Syriac* and *Arabic* translators of the New Testament, having had some scruples, as *Grotius* supposed, lest Adam should be understood to be *ex divinâ substantiâ genitus*, did

that eternal life, or a restoration and redemption from the consequences of this sentence, was effected for, revealed, consigned, and insured to man, in and through Christ, and will be accomplished in no other way than that spoken of by Christ and his apostles,

not call him *the Son of God* in the terms they had used to denominate the other descendants of *Adam* respectively, but had only said of him, *qui ex Deo est*. Grotius seems to think this a needless delicacy ; but instead of observing, as he might have done in two words, that no such difference is marked in the original, he proceeds to shew how *Adam* might be called *the Son of God*, by an argument which very probably the Evangelist never thought of. And to support his hypothesis, he appeals to a passage of *Philo*, where we find the following account. Ὅς [Adam] ἐνεκα εὐγενειας οὐδενι θνήσω συγκρίτος, χερσι μὲν θειαῖς εἰς ἀνδριαντα ἰόν σωμαλοειδῇ τυπωθεὶς ἀχρόλητι τεκνῆς πλαστικῆς. Ψυχῆς δὲ ἀξιωθεὶς ἀπ' οὐδενος ἐξ τῶν εἰς γεννησιν ἡκοντων, ἐμπνευσαντος Θεοῦ Ἰης θειας δυναμεως ὅσον ἡδυνατο δεξαοθαι θνήσιν φύσιν. Which Grotius thus translates. *Qui quod ad nobilitatem attinet, neminem habet qui secum comparetur, manibus divinis in simulacrum corporeum formatus summa arte figurari; anima autem donatus non ab ullo qui genitus est, sed Deo inspirante ei tantum divinæ facultatis quantum ferre poterat NATURA MORTALIS.* But the misfortune of this doctrine is, that when *Adam* first received *the breath of life*, his nature was not mortal. His mortality commenced not but with his transgression, and was the declared penalty of it. When *Adam* came out of the hands of his Creator, his nature was immortal; and upon that, if we believe our Christian scriptures, the *divine Sonship* depends. Christ himself is said by St. Paul to have been declared [rather, determined, ορίσθεις] to be the *Son of God* by his resurrection from the dead, Rom. i. 4. And accordingly the *sonship, heirship* of Christian

apostles, who have left no room to conclude that there is a *separate* or *intermediate* life for the soul, when disunited from the body.

On the other side it is insisted, that the human soul is immortal in its own nature, and capable of an active and conscious existence in a state of disunion and separation from the body. That this natural capacity of the soul was not impaired, or at all affected by any thing that happened upon the transgression of our first parents; and that the death to which they were condemned, was only the death of the body. The consequence of all which is, that there is, and would have been a future immortal state of being beyond the present life, and (the moral attributes of God pre-supposed) a just retribution therein, independent of the doctrine of a resurrection of the dead.

Now so far as this is the creed of believers in Christ, it requires some explanation, lest it should seem to make void, or at least, render insignificant or unnecessary some of the capital truths of the Gospel. Accordingly, divers methods of accommodating this philosophical theory to the doctrine of the scripture, have been invented, that these privileges of *nature* may not appear to transcend

Christian believers, is uniformly referred to their restoration to *immortality*,—to their *future* inheritance in heaven, through Christ the *first fruits*, the *first-born among many brethren*, all through the *New Testament*. That the *nature of Adam* was at his creation *immortal*, St. Luke knew; and Grotius should have known it, at least better than *Philo Judæus*.

the riches of *Gospel-grace*. The principal of which is, placing *redemption, salvation, &c.* in and through Jesus Christ, in circumstances which either keep the ideas of Life and Death out of sight, or reduce them to mere figurative terms; either, for example, in modes of purification from the stains of original sin, or in certain secret effects and influences of grace and faith upon the soul, or in communications of the holy spirit to which man, in his *unregenerate* state, could have no title.

And then again, lest the end of a resurrection of the dead should seem to be defeated by the hypothesis of a permanent life and consciousness in the soul, and its capability of happiness and misery in a separate state, an *intermediate* condition is contrived, in which the departed souls of good men are supposed to have an *imperfect* reward, and the souls of the wicked an *imperfect* punishment, during the interval between death and the general resurrection, when every one will receive a full and complete recompense for the deeds done in the body.

It is well known how easily these things are taken upon trust, and how little disposed the generality are to examine how far they agree with the scriptures: and there is one argument, much insisted on, which seems to make examination upon this head, unnecessary. "If a future state," say these reasoners, "is but ascertained, it can be no great matter upon which of these hypotheses it is founded. Which way soever the point is decided, the sanctions of the Gospel stand sure. They who deny an intermediate state, acknowledge the

“ the resurrection of the dead, and a future judgment; and they who hold a separate existence of the soul in an intermediate state, mean not to preclude or supercede a final retribution, or the resurrection of the dead. So that the motives to virtue and righteousness, and the discouragements of vice and iniquity, taken from the certainty of a future recompense, being secured either way, it is of little or no consequence which of these opinions we espouse.”

But might not one reason thus upon many other controverted points, some of which perhaps may be thought to be of much greater importance? It is readily allowed that, where good christians bring forth the fruits of the Gospel spirit in their manners and dispositions, it may not always be necessary or expedient to disquiet them with objections to their peculiar tenets, though manifestly wrong and absurd; especially where there is reason to believe, that what you would substitute in the place of such tenets, would have no better effect upon their moral sentiments and practices, than their present opinions. My charity inclines me to hope and believe there may be some bigotted papists, who hold all the errors of their church to the very extremes of idolatry and superstition, who nevertheless exhibit the true christian character in their general practice. And I am likewise persuaded that some such there may be among the followers of *Mahomet*.

What then? Because there are here and there instances of individuals, who are not *practically* corrupted

rupted by the influence of the errors they hold, is there no utility or edification in exposing the corruptions of Popery, or the fables of Mahometism? Pitch upon any church or religious society where you will, and how small a proportion do they who stick to the purely perceptive part of their institute, without deviating into the licentiousness for which their respective systems of doctrine and discipline leave room, bear to those, who, provided they are orthodox in their professions of faith, and conformable to ecclesiastical forms, scruple not to follow their own appetites and devices, in sure and certain confidence of escaping at the last, by the means of those dispensations, atonements, absolutions, &c. with which all religious societies are, in some degree, provided?

If the doctrines and precepts of Christ are in truth the standards of piety and virtue, and the rules and directories to the highest perfection frail man can arrive at in the present life, and to the consummation of his best hopes in another, it must be of the utmost importance, that these doctrines and precepts should be understood in the very sense, as near as may be, in which they were delivered by our blessed Lord, and those commissioned by him to dispense them to the world. To preach and to propagate erroneous interpretations of Gospel-doctrine, though by accident no evil impressions may be made by it upon some few well-disposed minds, must infallibly have a worse effect upon a large majority. And there are examples in the New Testament, shewing evidently enough, that
this

this was the opinion of the apostles and their assistants (*b*).

It has been the opinion of some eminent men who studied the scriptures with great judgment, application and success, that if our forefathers, who had the management of the protestant Reformation, had enjoyed the lights and aids with which succeeding times have been favoured, and could have divested themselves of their scholastic manner of reasoning, the differences on which the several churches where they presided, separated from each other, might have been, in a great measure, prevented. If this is true, or even probable, much edification may still arise from clearing up the genuine sense of scripture, and freeing it from those mistaken interpretations, which unskilful men first adopted, and others, interested in the credit of particular churches, have since thought fit to maintain, in some cases, perhaps, contrary to their own inward conviction. Private christians at least will be led by this information, to distinguish between truth, and the mere apparition of it; between the genuine word of God, and the traditions of men; and may thence be instructed, what few seem to be aware of, how much depends upon their studying the scriptures for themselves, and how liable they are to be imposed upon by those who think of little in their observations on the sacred writers, but how they may best serve the system of the society

(*b*) See Acts xviii. 24, 25, and compare chap. xix. 1—7.

to which they belong, or some hypothesis of their own, still more precarious than that.

They who after the most diligent search, cannot find in the scriptures, any foundation for the doctrine of a separate existence of the soul, or any trace of an intermediate state of life and consciousness between death and the resurrection, think themselves sufficiently justified by the foregoing considerations, not only in disowning this doctrine themselves, but in their endeavours to have it disowned by all good christians, as productive of nothing better, than superstition, idolatry, and enthusiasm on the one hand, and infidelity on the other: and they apprehend, that by admitting life and immortality to have been brought to light by the gospel of Christ, in the strict and proper meaning of the words, and exclusive of all other means and sources of immortality, (as *St. Paul* and his contemporaries appear to have understood the doctrine) a total lapse must ensue of the chief supports of Deism and Popery, not to mention other idle notions of more recent origin.

These, we own, are high sounding pretensions, but they are at the same time pretensions of real importance to the cause of christianity in general, and that of the Protestant religion in particular; and, on that account, demand from every one who is well affected to either, a candid and serious attention to those arguments which are brought to make them good. There are, it is true, other arguments against Popery and infidelity, which have been urged against them with success: but it is
equally

equally true, that the arguments on the other side have received a great degree of plausibility, and even of real weight, from the concession of a *separate existence* of the soul in a state of consciousness and activity.

For example, if it be denied, and cannot be proved, that man will inherit eternal life, otherwise than in consequence of his rising from the dead, as that is insured by the promises of the gospel, and the previous resurrection of Jesus, the faith and hope of that species of infidelity called *Deism*, are at an end. But while christian writers are persuaded that they ought to maintain the natural, indefeasible immortality of the soul, and its conscious existence in a separate state, as if this doctrine were some way connected with the principles of the christian religion, they leave the Deists in possession of a strong hold, from whence it seems impossible to dislodge them. For thus they reason, “ You allow
“ that a future state of reward and punishment may
“ be proved from the nature of the human soul,
“ from the unequal distribution of good and evil in
“ the present life, from the free agency of man,
“ and the documents of reason and nature, import-
“ ing, that upon the final event of things, the
“ Judge of all the earth will certainly do right.
“ What necessity then for a particular revelation,
“ or a particular mediator, to inform us of, or to
“ secure to us certain privileges of which we were
“ in possession without them.”

I am not the only one who hath observed and pitied the embarrassment of the most eminent advocates

cates of christianity, when this objection was urged home upon them. In vain had they proved the *truth* and *authenticity* of the christian revelation, by what is called the *external evidence*, even to demonstration; in vain had they shewn, from the moral doctrines of the gospel, an agreement with the most rational conclusions of wise men in all ages, unless they could shew the *peculiar uses* and *importance* of such a dispensation. To what purpose such a profusion of miracles, so eminently powerful a minister, so transcendent a character as that of *Jesus* at the head of this dispensation, if his errand was no more than to give an *additional* testimony to the supposed discoveries of natural religion? which, considering the universal consent of wisemen in all ages, so much boasted of on all sides, and by both parties, seems to be an end much below the necessity for the interposition of *the Son of God*, as it might have been accomplished by the ministry of any one of those inferior prophets of the Old Testament, who surely were sufficiently gifted and instructed to authenticate doctrines and precepts, which were already to be found in the works of so many poets and philosophers, in every body's hands? And yet this, in short, is the whole to which the account given us of the *cui bono* of revelation, by most of our modern advocates for christianity, seems to amount.

Let us now consider another case. The notion of two natures or principles in man, independent of each other, is plainly the foundation upon which
our

our modern pietists of various denominations, build their respective systems. They conceive the influences of divine grace to operate upon the soul *only*, while the body remains under all the melancholy distemperature of its *original* corruption ; which however is understood to have no ill effect upon the salvation of the believer, while his wounds, inflicted by carnality and concupiscence, are healed by *faith*. Hence, instead of considering the purification of the *whole man*, as the work of a gradual instruction and discipline under the precepts of the gospel, they hold that the redemption, justification, sanctification, &c. of particulars is *instantaneous*, upon the first act or motion of faith and repentance, and some of their writers seem to speak of these privileges, as if they were even previous to conversion. This they call the *new birth*, which is supposed to cleanse the soul from every stain of sin ; the blame of all obliquity and deviation from the precepts of the gospel being thrown upon the *old man*, whose malignity (being controuled by the incessant operations of *faith*) is however happily prevented from doing any harm to the purified spirit of believers.

This scheme of doctrine, with a thousand extravagant consequences drawn from it, could evidently have no place but upon the supposition of two distinct natures in man, propped up by the application of certain passages of scripture torn from their context, and wrested from their true meaning, in order to accommodate them to the Pagan accounts

counts of the nature and properties of the human soul (c).

To

(c) These misapplications arise chiefly from the mention made in the scriptures of an opposition or contrariety between *flesh* and *spirit*, concerning which the learned *Pearson* hath left us the following admonition. “ Quid σαρξ quid πνευμα
 “ apud Græcos scriptores denotet, nemo nescit; at si omnes
 “ in universum sensus, quibus his vocabulis Græci usi sunt,
 “ recenseantur, nullus omnino invenietur qui mentem aposto-
 “ lorum attinget. Cum enim *baschar* carnem proprie significet,
 “ eadem tamen vox ab Hebræis nonnunquam pro *homine ipso*,
 “ aliquando pro *humana natura*, sæpe pro ejusdem *imbecilli-*
 “ *tate*, aut etiam *vitiositate*, usurpetur, et in hâc sensuum va-
 “ rietate unica voce, σαρκος a LXX reddatur, hinc evenire
 “ necesse est, ut quoties apostoli eo sensu usurpent quem Græ-
 “ ci veteres haud agnoverunt, ex Hebræo idiomate, et ver-
 “ sione LXX explicetur.—Ita cum *ruach* satis proprie πνευμα,
 “ qualiter a veteribus Græcis usurpatur, denotet, et præterea
 “ etiam apud Hebræos multa alia significata contineat, quæ apud
 “ Græcos haud comparent, cum apostoli eo sensu uturpârunt
 “ quem Græci veteres haud agnoverunt, ex Hebræo idiomate
 “ et versione LXX explicandi sunt.” *Præfat Parænet.* before
Field's Septuagint, 1665, p. 13. The good bishop took this
 remark from the learned *Gataker's* Dissertation *De Novi Instru-*
menti Stylo, p. 54, 55. ed. 1648. A book written to con-
 fute an idle attempt of *Sebastian Pfochenius* a *Friburgher*, to
 shew that “ there are no *Hebraisms* in the New Testament,
 “ but that those expressions, which passed for such, were con-
 “ formable to the style of the purest Greek authors.” The
 instances above are sufficient to shew the weakness of *Pfoche-*
nus's hypothesis. How little the distinctions marked by these
 able and judicious critics have been attended to, is deplorably
 evident from the labours of the most of those who have com-
 mented upon, or drawn up systems from the passages in the
 apostolic writings here referred to. That they, who in their in-
 terpretations

To do justice however to all sides, it must be observed that these visionaries alledge, “ they are
 “ but treading in the footsteps of our predecessors
 “ of the establishment, and analysing the very sys-
 “ tem to which every orthodox son of the church
 “ of *England* subscribes his *unfeigned assent* to this
 “ very day.” And they scruple not to boast, that they have the satisfaction to see, that after all the clamour raised against them, the most dextrous of their reverend, and even right reverend opponents, is obliged, in overturning their creed, to quibble away his own; in which, *I would willingly hope*, they are mistaken.

What interest Popery has in the determination of this question, is shewn at large in the following *Historical View*, where it will be seen, that while our Reformers were studiously lopping the branches of superstition and imposture, they inadvertently left

interpretations of scripture, pretend to the aid of immediate inspiration, or go by the rules of different kinds of *Cabbalism*, should hold these rational criticisms in contempt, is not marvelous. But that they who pretend to read and explain the scriptures by the help of grammatical and philological literature should overlook these necessary distinctions, is unaccountable. To some of these therefore, and particularly to Mr. *John Steffe*, the author of *two Letters on the Intermediate State*, would I humbly recommend the deliberate consideration of the remarks of *Gataker*, *Pearson*, and some others, upon the style of the sacred writings, before they conclude from similar, or even the same expressions, that *Moses*, *David*, *Solomon*, and *Paul*, had precisely the same ideas of the human soul, with *Hesiod*, *Homer*, *Pythagoras*, *Cicero*, and other worthies of the Pagan ages.

the stock, with a vigorous root in the ground, which their successors, with a surprizing inattention to the pernicious consequences of their misapprehension, have been cultivating to a fresh growth, to the great hazard not only of the protestant religion, but even of Christianity itself, which is at this hour so greatly obscured and well nigh choaked under the thick shade of this venomous exotic.

By this time the intelligent reader will readily comprehend, that a doctrine, which, like that of *the sleep of the soul*, strikes so home at the pride of the philosopher, the enthusiastic visions of the mystic, the lucrative systems of the interested churchman, and the various prejudices and superstitions of their respective disciples, should be loaded with all the obloquy and scandal which bigotted and provoked adversaries can lay upon it. We are indeed obliged to those who content themselves with calling it an unimportant, insignificant doctrine; for though their moderation arises from too superficial a knowledge of the subject, to give weight to their judgment, yet it is candid at least to confess, that *they see no harm in it*. The far greater part agree in stigmatizing it as an heresy, derogatory to the nature of man, subversive of his future hopes, and favouring not a little of atheism and impiety (d).

In (d) ERASMUS, who permits free disputation on most theological subjects, yet will not allow a good churchman to moot upon this and some few others. *Scio, says he, quædam esse ejus generis ut nefas sit, ceu dubia, vocare in disputationem.*

Quod

In vain have the espousers of this opinion remonstrated against these unjust and cruel censures. In vain have they offered themselves to be tried by the scriptures of the New Testament, and the tenor of the Christian dispensation therein exhibited. In vain have they asserted their firm belief of a resurrection of the dead through *Christ* the redeemer, and acknowledged their obligations to him of duty and gratitude for the grace and privileges of his gospel. Not the least regard has been paid to their most solemn professions on this head. Their opponents still go on to charge them with endeavouring to sink mankind to the condition of beasts that perish, without making the least allowance for their holding, what is equally admitted by both parties, a restoration of the defunct to life and immortality, by a resurrection of the dead.

Quod genus sunt, An Christus sit Deus, et idem homo? An natus absque viri opera? AN ANIMÆ SUPERSINT A MORTE CORPORIS? An hæc corpora sint olim revictura? Hæc enim tam evidenter traduntur nobis autoritate divinæ scripturæ, ac totius ecclesiæ consensu, ut impium sit et periculosum de his in diversam partem differere, nisi forte nobis cum Ethnicis res inciderit. Et tamen non arbitror odiosè rejiciendum, qui de hujusmodi quoque rebus animi sui scrupulum, ut est humanæ mentis infirmitas, doctis aperuerit; nihil aliud agens, quam ut quod credit utcunque, credat certius. In 1 Cor. vii. 39. This gracious and condescending permission, to consult learned men on scruples of this sort, provided you will give security before-hand, to stand to their award, is in the true style of human establishments. The reason indeed of this condition is plain. The scrupulous mortal always labours under *an infirmity of mind*; the learned, orthodox, and established casuist or confessor, has no such feelings.

It is in order to shew this unrighteous and unchristian treatment in its proper colours, and to lodge an appeal against it, with those who have candour and temper enough to look farther for the grounds of such accusations, than the ecchoes of an injudicious multitude, inflamed by the injurious misrepresentations of their interested leaders, that the following detail of facts is drawn up, and submitted to the consideration of the public.

It is remarkable that Protestants, who have on most occasions refused to be governed by *tradition*, seem to have submitted to it in this matter with the most implicit deference; and some of the same men, who in treating upon other theological subjects, are wont to press a thorough examination of popular opinions, and exhort us to receive nothing upon the mere merit of its long possession, and the concurrence of numbers, have affected to represent the natural immortality of the soul, not only as an *universal*, but an *uniform* tenet of mankind in all ages and countries, and in all circumstances. And there is no doubt but thousands adhere to the opinion at this very time, who have no other argument to produce for it, but this of an universal and uniform concurrence.

But is this the truth of the case? Does it, or can it be made to appear, that men were *uniform* in all ages, either in their notions concerning the sort of soul intitled to immortality, or the kind of immortality to which it is intitled? No, the disputes on this head are carefully concealed in all popular discourses; and the people are left to take a thing
for

for granted, in which, were their teachers called upon to explain the terms they use, hardly two of them perhaps would agree in the same definitions.

The late Mr. *Grove* of *Taunton*, being hard pressed by Mr. *Hallet*, junior, upon this subject, began a work, concerning *The weight of tradition for a future state*, of which he lived to finish only one chapter. The title is ambiguous, nor is it clear from what remains, upon what Mr. *Grove* would have rested his argument. The *weight* of tradition may mean, the superior numbers who have given their suffrage for a future state in times past, and the *comparative* weight of these, when put in the opposite scale to those who have argued and concluded against it. Or the *weight of tradition* may signify the *real intrinsic importance* of tradition, in deciding the question concerning a future state.

If Mr. *Grove* intended to treat his subject upon the latter footing, no doubt but he would take the superiority of numbers for granted; a point which would not be worth disputing with him. But if in the former sense, he could hardly avoid observing, how greatly the weight of tradition would be diminished, by the various and disagreeing accounts of the thing itself, which this tradition hath handed down, not only in different ages, but in the same age, and even in the same country.

The following papers are designed to afford a short, but, as it is hoped, a satisfactory view of the *weight* of tradition for a future state, in the sense of *merit* and *importance*, during a particular period of time, the most interesting to the present generation
(with

(with respect to questions of this kind) of any other; as abounding not only with more and better materials for researches into philosophical opinions, through the revival and cultivation of useful literature, but productive likewise of many more eminent men, who with different views, and from various motives, have employed their talents in this disquisition.

Such of these as appear to be most worthy of our regard we shall call upon to speak for themselves, leaving innumerable others unnoticed, not as being, upon the whole, less considerable, but as men who have only repeated what some or other of our witnesses have said before or after them.

And if, upon the result, it shall appear, that there has been no manner of consistency among those who have dogmatized upon the natural immortality, or separate existence of the soul; if it shall appear that later inquiries have exploded and reprobated former theories, and that men who have seemingly agreed in asserting the general doctrine, have flatly contradicted each other in setting forth the grounds of it, and consequently in the construction of their arguments brought to support it, may we not humbly hope, that the offence that has been taken at those who have dissented from them all, and have refused to adopt any accounts of futurity except those in the New Testament, will now cease; and that our impartial readers will not think it strange or unreasonable, that we who think a state of *separate existence* of the soul derogatory to the word of God, should not receive it with a
blind

blind submission to the *ipse dixit* of men, who, however considerable in other respects, could never satisfy each other in their respective accounts of a doctrine, which all of them pretended to believe?

I have only farther to add, that as the church of *England* herself hath declined, in the most solemn declaration of her tenets, to interpose her judgment of this controverfy for more than two hundred years, and gives countenance to the notion of a *conscious intermediate state*, no otherwise than by some ambiguous expressions in one of her offices, which, of all others, and by the confession of all parties, wants most to be corrected; it is not only *unfair* but *inhuman* for one set of her members to brand another with HERESY, merely for holding the negative side of this question. It is indeed to exceed in bitterness even the gall of Popery itself; the most sensible and reasonable men of that communion, speaking with great contempt and indignation of those who impute *heresy* to their adversaries in points, which are not decided by the CHURCH (e).

And

(e) Mr. *Bayle*, speaking of the impertinence of the Jesuit *Maimbourg*, in sneering at the number of honourable testimonials prefixed to the works of the Jansenist writers of *Port Royal*, makes the following remark. “ Cette raillerie
 “ étoit fort déraisonnable; car c’étoit lui et ses confreres qui
 “ à force d’appeller *Heretiques* les ecrivans de Port Royal,
 “ les avoient contraints de se munir, d’un grand nombre
 “ d’approbations. Au reste, je ne trouve pas étrange,
 “ qu’elles déplussent aut Pere *Maimbourg*, car elles faisoient,
 “ voir la temerité insupportable, qu’il avoit eüe d’accuser
 “ d’*heresie* des gens qui passoient pour orthodoxes dans
 “ l’esprit

And were they who are *dignified* with the name of *Soul-sleepers*, disposed to seek reprisals upon the *Orthodox*, what depredations might they not make, by comparing some of their *avowed* opinions with the corresponding *Articles* of the church, which they have solemnly subscribed more than once, and which are still standing in full authority to confront them.

“ l'esprit des plus savans Prelats du Royaume, auxquels, et
 “ non pas aux Jesuites, il appartient de juger decisivement de
 “ la qualitié d'une opinion.” *Critique Generale de l'Histoire Calvinisme*, vol. I. p. 89, 90. It is no reasonable prejudice against the truth and justice of this remark, that it comes from a Protestant writer. There was not a Jansenist among the Catholics of France, who did not loudly complain of this calumnious imputation of *heresie*, even such of them as dealt it about with the greatest freedom to the Protestants. There was not a more bigotted Catholic on the face of the earth than the famous *Arnauld*, or a more virulent writer against the Protestants; at the same time, that no man was ever more impatient when the reproach of *heresie* was thrown upon himself or his party. See his *Preface* to the second volume of his *Nouvelle Defense de la Traduction du Nouv. Test. imprimée à MONS.* And the *Advertisement* prefixed to vol. i. of *Les Imaginaires*, &c. under the name of the *Sieur Damvilliers*.

The End of the Preface:

[A N]

HISTORICAL VIEW

OF THE

CONTROVERSY, &c.

C H A P. I.

The doctrine generally received in the Christian Church concerning the state of departed Souls, overthrown by a canon of the council of Florence. The Greeks at that council obliged to concur in it. The Florentine doctrine calculated to favour Purgatory. Remarks on the canon. Was probably the occasion of the disputes at Rome on the immortality of the soul, in the pontificate of Paul ii.

BEFORE the council of *Florence*, which was 1439. held in the year 1439, under pope *Eugenius* IV, the current doctrine, both of the Greek and Latin churches, was, that “the souls of the
 “faints were in *abditis receptaculis*, or as some of
 “them expressed it, in *exterioribus atriis*, where
 “they expected the resurrection of their bodies,
 “and the glorification of their souls; and though
 “the Fathers believed all of them to be happy, yet
 “they did not think they would enjoy the beatific
 “vision before the resurrection (*a*).”

But the pope above-mentioned, having by an infamous stratagem, and in opposition to the council of *Basil*, inveigled the patriarch of *Constantinople* and some of his clergy, to attend him in a council indicted at *Ferrara*, and adjourned

(*a*) See Bishop *Taylor's* Liberty of Prophefying, p. 152.

to *Florence* (*b*), had the address to obtain their consent to the following canon.

“ If the truly penitent shall depart this life in the
 “ love of God, before they have made sufficient
 “ satisfaction for their sins of commission and omis-
 “ sion, by fruits worthy of repentance, their souls
 “ are purged by the pains of purgatory ; and the
 “ suffrages of the living are profitable for the reliev-
 “ ing them from the pains of purgatory, namely,
 “ by sacrifices of the mass, prayers, and alms, which
 “ according to the ordinances of the church, are
 “ wont to be performed by the faithful, on the be-
 “ half of the faithful ; but the souls of those, who,
 “ after baptism, have incurred no stain of sin, as
 “ also those souls, which having contracted the stain
 “ of sin, whether in their bodies or divested of their
 “ bodies, have been purged as above-mentioned,
 “ are received into heaven immediately, and clearly be-
 “ hold the triune God as he is ; but some of them
 “ more perfectly than others, according to the dif-
 “ ference of their merits (*c*).”

The compilers of this canon saw, no doubt, the absurdity of supposing, that those souls which had

(*b*) *Geddes* Introductory Discourse, prefixed to *Vargas's* Letters. And the Greek history of this Council published by *Creyghton*, 1660. The eastern bishops pleaded poverty, and that they could not afford the expence of attending the council in Italy. But *Eugenius*, determined to have them at any rate, undertook to bear their charges, and even to defray the expences of the Emperor who accompanied them : For which purpose he sold all his plate, and pawned the pontifical Tiara to the Florentines for forty thousand crowns of gold. See *Journal des Sçavans*. An. 1675. p. 94.

(*c*) *Caranza* Sum. Concil. 454. f. v. 12mo.

under-

undergone the purgatorial purification, should still remain *in abditis receptaculis*, perhaps in a state of insensibility, as some of the Fathers held, or *in exterioribus atriis*, in a state of mere expectation. But purgatory was to be supported at all events, and the poor Greeks, on this occasion, were obliged to desert the most eminent lights of their own church, for which, however, some of them were sufficiently mortified when they got home (*d*).

But that the protestants should be complaisant enough to make *this plain recession from antiquity*, as bishop *Taylor* terms it, upon no better authority than that of this canon, is a little surprizing. This, however, is the fact, as will evidently appear by and by, with this difference, that these protestants sent the souls of the saints directly to heaven, without calling at purgatory.

It is probable this alteration in the church's doc-

(*d*) *Joseph* the patriarch died at *Florence* suddenly in the night, having just time to leave a rescript behind him, importing his full agreement with the church of *Rome*, particularly in the articles of the Roman Pontiff's supremacy, and the doctrine of purgatory. This was well contrived, and was no doubt instrumental to the procuring the subscription of his associates. Who however were not only disowned by the church of *Constantinople* when they returned, but, if we may believe *Gaspar Peucerus*, [Chronic. sub anno 1439] excommunicated, and denied christian burial. *Platina* says, *Græcorum natio, haud ita multa post, ad antiquos mores recidit*. Eugen. iv. p. 267. Edit. 1562. But indeed they did not think themselves bound for a single moment by this act of their Florentine delegates. There was however some struggle to have the union of the Greek and Latin churches, as patched up at *Florence*, received by the synod at *Constantinople*, but without success. Vid. *Sguropol. Hist. Con. Florent.* at the end.

trine, might give occasion to the philosophical inquiries and disputes we read of no long time after, in the city of Rome itself, concerning the immortality of the soul. These disputes afforded one pretence at least to pope Paul II. to abolish the college of *Abbreviators*, and to persecute the members of it, of whom *Platina* was one, and the celebrated *Pomponius Lætus* another. The pope objected to them that they disputed upon the immortality of the soul, and held *Plato's* opinion upon that subject, which *Platina* did not deny, but justifies himself and his fellows by the authority of *St Austin*, who thought *Plato's* doctrine resembled that of the christian religion. Says the pope, "You give occasion by your disputations, to call in question the being of GOD." — *Platina* answers, *that this might be equally objected to all the divines and philosophers of those times, who for disputation's sake, and for the purpose of finding out the truth, called in question the being and nature of souls, of GOD, and of all separate intelligences (e).*

This happened in the pontificate of *Paul II.* which began in the year 1464, and ended, 1471, And I cite it only to shew that such disputes were on foot in those days, and that they were supposed to do harm to religion.

(e) *Platina* in *Paulo* 2^{do}.

C H A P. II.

A canon of the Lateran Council under Leo. x. confirming one of the Clementine Constitutions which asserts the natural immortality of the soul. Luther's opinion of that council. The doctrine of the canon built upon the hypothesis of Substantial Forms. Some modern divines and philosophers not at all more intelligible, or better founded than the old Schoolmen.

THE spirit of philosophizing however, seems to 1513. have gone on without much controul, from this period to the year 1513, when the immortality of the soul being openly called in question (*f*), it became necessary for the pope and the church to give some check to it; which was done in a canon enacted in what may be called the *rump* of the Lateran council, held under Leo X. in the year above-mentioned (*g*).

It will be necessary to put down this canon at length, as it is published by *Caranza* (*gg*).

“Whereas

(*f*) *Sleidan*. Lib. 2. p. 37.

(*g*) *Luther* says of this council, that it was of so little authority as to be laughed at by the Romanists themselves. *Sleidan*, u. 5. p. 35.

(*gg*) Cum diebus nostris nonnulli ausi sint dicere de natura animæ rationalis, quod mortalis sit aut unica in cunctis hominibus, et aliqui temere philosophantes, secundum saltem philosophiam, verum esse asseverant, sacro approbante concilio damnamus et reprobamus, omnes asserentes animam intellectivam mortalem esse aut unicam in cunctis hominibus, et hæc in dubium vertentes; cum illa non solum vere et per se essentialiter humani corporis forma existat (sicut in Can. Clementis Papæ 5, in generali Viennensi concilio edito continetur) verum

“ Whereas in these our days, some have dared to
 “ assert concerning the nature of the reasonable
 “ soul, that it is mortal, or one and the same in all
 “ men; and some, rashly philosophizing, declare
 “ this to be true, at least according to philosophy,
 “ We, with the approbation of the sacred council,
 “ do condemn and reprobate all those who assert
 “ that the intellectual soul is mortal, or one and the
 “ same in all men, and those who call these things
 “ in question; seeing that the soul is not only truly,
 “ and of itself, and essentially the form of the human
 “ body, as is expressed in the canon of pope *Clement*
 “ Vth, published in the general council of *Vienne*;
 “ but likewise immortal, and, according to the
 “ number of bodies into which it is infused, is sin-
 “ gularly multipliable, multiplied, and to be mul-
 “ tiplied. Which manifestly appears from the gos-
 “ pel, seeing that our Lord saith, *They cannot kill the*

immortalis, et pro corporum quibus infunditur multitudine,
 singulariter multiplicabilis, et multiplicata, et multiplicanda
 fit. Quod manifeste constat ex evangelio, cum dominus ait,
Animam autem occidere non possunt. Et alibi, *Qui odit animam*
suam in hoc mundo, &c. Et etiam cum æternam pœnam (l.
 æterna præmia) et æterna supplicia pro merito vitæ judicandis
 repromittit: alias incarnatio, et alia Christi mysteria nobis mi-
 nime profuissent, nec resurrectio expectanda foret, ac sancti
 et justī miserabiliores essent, juxta Paulum, omnibus homini-
 bus. Cumque *verum vero minime contradicat*, omnem assertio-
 nem veritati illuminatæ fidei contrariam, omnino falsam esse
 definimus, et ut aliter dogmatizare non liceat districtius in-
 hibemus, omnesque hujusmodi erroneis assertionibus inhæren-
 tes, tanquam hæreticos vitandos et puniendos fore decerni-
 mus. *Caranza. Sum. Concilior. Lovanii. 1681. pag. 412. b.*
413. a.

“ soul :

“ *soul* : and elsewhere, *He who hateth his soul in this*
 “ *world, &c.* and also because he promises eternal
 “ pain (*rather* rewards) and eternal torments to
 “ those who are to be judged according to their
 “ merit in this life. OTHERWISE the incarna-
 “ tion, and other mysteries of Christ, would not
 “ profit us, nor were a resurrection to be expected;
 “ and the saints and righteous would, according to
 “ *Paul*, be most miserable of all men. And seeing
 “ that *truth never contradicts truth*, we determine
 “ every assertion, which is contrary to revealed
 “ faith, to be false; and we strictly inhibit all from
 “ dogmatizing otherwise, and we decree that all
 “ who adhere to the like erroneous assertions, shall
 “ be shunned and punished as heretics.”

This venerable council, it appears, were of opinion, that if the human soul was proved or allowed to be naturally mortal, there could be no resurrection of the dead, no rewards or punishments in a future state, no benefits from the incarnation, and other mysteries of Christ (one of which OTHER mysteries by the way, was a *purgatory*) (*b*). And the axiom, *verum vero non contradicit*; applied as it is in this canon, imports, that the scholastic argument for the immortality of the soul, and the scripture-revelation of a resurrection of the dead, must either be both true, or both false.

It is true, the substantial forms of the *Thomists* are no longer in repute, and the argument drawn

(*b*) *Aquinas* infers the soul's capability of purgatorial pains, from its being the substantial form of the body. *Aquin. Summ. qu. LXXV. art. 1. resp. ad 5^{am} 1 partis.*

from thence for the immortality of the soul, is, in these more enlightened days, exploded. But that is only to make way for another *scholastic* argument, equally obscure and precarious, devised by *Des Cartes*, and adopted by many good Christians and true Protestants to this hour, who are just as positive as *Leo* and his Doctors, that the philosophical and evangelical arguments for immortality, stand upon the same foundation. In support of which notion, a doctor of our own of no inconsiderable figure, hath introduced our blessed Saviour, deducing his argument for a resurrection of the dead, against the *Sadducees*, Matt. xxii. 29. through the medium of the SEPARATE EXISTENCE of the soul (i). What a million of pities that such a discovery should escape the sagacity of *Leo* and his *Lateran* councilors !

C H A P. III.

Peter Pomponatius's book *De animæ immortalitate*. Attacks and exposes the Followers of Aristotle. Pomponatius reviled as an infidel by Protestants as well as Papists. His meaning mistaken both by Mr Bayle and Bishop Warburton.

1516. BUT to go on with facts. Peter Pomponatius a philosopher of Mantua, not at all intimidated by this *Lateran* thunder, published a book in the year 1516, on the immortality of the soul, in which he exposed the futility of that argumentation by which the followers of *Aristotle* had endeavoured to

(i) Div. Leg. of *Moses*. Vol. IV. p. 343. ed. 1758. prove

prove the immortality of the soul on the principles of their master; by shewing, that they either mistook the sense of *Aristotle's* principles, or drew wrong conclusions from them. He then examines the hypothesis of *Aristotle* himself, and shews, that the mortality of the soul may be as easily proved by it, as the contrary. After which he states the moral arguments for the immortality, or rather against the mortality of the soul, under eight heads, and having shewn that they are weak and inconclusive, he infers upon the whole, in his last chapter, that, “the immortality of the soul, being a problematical question, we can have no assurance of the thing, but from revelation, and that they who would build immortality upon any other foundation, only verify the character given to certain self-sufficient reasoners by the apostle, namely, *professing themselves wise, they became fools* (k).”

It

(k) The R. R. author of the *Divine Lagation of Moses*, &c. censures Mr. *Bayle* for misrepresenting *Pomponatius*, by placing him in the class of those who have thought religion useless to society, which he calls *an impiety*. Whereas according to the R. R. author, *the impiety* of which *Pomponatius* was guilty, was, the pretence that *religion* was the creature of the magistrate. D. L. B. 1. I will venture to say, the R. R. author misrepresents *Pomponatius* as much to the full as Mr. *Bayle*. In this philosopher's XIV chapter we meet with the following passage, “Nam quod communiter diciter, si anima est mortalis, homo deberet se totum tradere voluptatibus corporalibus, omnia mala committere ad sui utilitatem, vanumque esset Deum colere, divina honorare, preces ad Deum fundere, sacrificia facere, cæteraque hujus generis; satis responsio patet per ea quæ dicta sunt; nam cum naturaliter felicitas appetatur, et miseria fugiatur,

It is no wonder that these *mootings* should expose *Pomponatius* to the rage and abuse of the popish clergy of all denominations. In vain did he pretend to submit his lucubrations to the controul of the

“*tur, et per dicta, felicitas consistat in actu virtuoso, cum*
 “*ex tota mente Deum colere, divina honorare, fundere at*
 “*Deum preces, sacrificare, sint actus maxime virtuosi, ideo*
 “*debemus totis viribus inniti ad acquisitionem istorum, p.*
 “*138.*” Now this being the religion of the first class of men he had mentioned before, p. 123. *qui ad virtutem inducuntur* EX SOLA VIRTUTIS NOBILITATE, without any inducement from the magistrate; with what truth could the R. R. author affirm, that *Pomponatius*, pretended religion to be the creature of politics? Unless he will say, that to worship God with the whole heart, to pray to him, &c. are not religion. Ay! but by religion, the R. R. author meant only future rewards and punishments. [Div. Leg. Edit. 4. 1755. p. 89.] So it seems. But if the whole of religion consists in these sanctions, will it not follow upon this author’s own principles, that *Moses* taught the Jews no religion at all? Well then, we allow that *Pomponatius* held future rewards and punishments to be the creature of politics. But where is the impiety of this? For if as *Pomponatius* asserts, we can have no certainty of immortality but from revelation, or the canonical scriptures, I would desire to know of the R. R. author, whose creatures those future rewards and punishments must be, which were proposed to the Pagans by the ruling powers among them, and which had no connection with revelation? And it is of such future rewards and punishments only that *Pomponatius* speaks, and of which he says, in the passage referred to by the R. R. author, that they were the invention of politicians. Henceforward then, *Pomponatius* is acquitted of all impiety, except it be impiety against human establishments of religion, with which indeed he plainly enough declares neither the religion of the gospel, nor the religion of philosophers can possibly incorporate. How far he is in the right

the apostolic see. He had classed *Aristotle*, and the whole tribe of schoolmen, among the *wisemen who became fools* in their own self-sufficiency; and upon these did the most lucrative doctrines of *Rome* almost entirely depend. But the strange part of the story would be, that this writer should incur the displeasure of Protestants, for opposing the doctrine of a popish canon, if later experience had not convinced us how complaisant we have been to the *catholics* in these points, since those days. Heretic, Impious, Epicurean, Atheist, were liberally bestowed upon *Pomponatius* on this occasion, with how little justice has been shewn by Mr. *Bayle*. And we shall see, as we go along, that several eminent men have adopted *Pomponatius's* general principle, in contradiction to a certain sort of philosophy, in much higher reputation for the supposed perspicuity of its grounds, than that of *Aristotle* and *Aquinas*.

One of *Pomponatius's* syllogisms is this, “ If Christ
“ is raised from the dead, we shall likewise rise;
“ and if we rise, the soul is immortal: But Christ
“ is raised: THEREFORE the soul is immortal.”

Considering what was meant in those days by *immortality of the soul*, the consequence is weak, and the reasoning pitiful. This however ought to have satisfied the philosopher's adversaries that he

right is another question. But without doubt the R. R. author had his reasons for being displeased with the consequences that might be drawn from the doctrine of our *Mantuan* philosopher, as totally subversive of the *ingenious* principles of his *alliance*, &c.

was

was neither atheist nor heretic. But the objection laid here; this syllogism did not account for the *intermediate* immortality in a state of separate existence. Nothing is mentioned of the *substantial form*, on which, as we have observed, the soul's capability of purgatorial pains was made to depend*.

I have often wondered that the modern contenders for the *separate existence* of the soul, should ever be prevailed with to give up this commodious *substantial form*: or that none of the numerous followers of *Des Cartes*, *Clarke*, and *Baxter*, should think of substituting something in the room of it. When they speak of the *happiness* of separate souls, they make a tolerable case, and flourish on the spiritual joys of a *thinking substance*, with great edification to those who are in love with mystic rapture and ecstasy. But when they come to dispose of the souls of the *wicked*, they are totally at a loss. Some of them are obliged to leave them asleep, [*Steffe*, &c.] Others talk of punishments by parity of reason, and of their suffering—no body knows what or how, [*Goddard*, &c.] It is very extraordinary they should not recollect that their *catholic* predecessors, having *substantial forms* always at hand, were never under any such embarrassment.

* Quantumcunque immateriale in materiale agat, non videtur tamen actionem converti. Quare et etiam apud Theologos dubitatio orta est, quomodo animæ cruciari possint ab igne corporeo. *Pompon. cap. 8. p. 42.*

C H A P. IV.

Luther ranks the natural immortality of the soul among the monstrous opinions of Popery. The grounds of his censure doubtful. Were not what Cardinal Per-ron supposed them to be. The doctrine of the sleep of the soul espoused by Luther on scriptural authority. The Appendix referred to.

IN the year 1520 *Luther* published a defence of 1520. his propositions condemned by a bull of *Leo X.* which were in number 41. The 27th runs thus.

“ It is certain that it is not in the power of the
“ church or the pope to establish articles of faith,
“ or laws for morals or good works.” And the
reason he gives for this is, that these articles and
laws, are already established in the word of God ;
which he proves from 1 *Cor.* iii. 11 (1). After
which he goes on, “ But I permit the Pope to
“ make articles of faith for himself and his faithful,
“ such as, *The bread and wine are transubstantiated*
“ *in the sacrament. The essence of God neither gene-*
“ *rates, nor is generated. The soul is the substantial*

(1) Certum est in manu Ecclesiæ aut Papæ non esse statuere articulos fidei, imo nec leges morum, nec bonorum operum. — Permitto tamen quod Papa condat articulos fidei sibi et suis fidelibus, quales sunt, *Panem et vinum transubstantiari in sacramento, Essentiam Dei nec generare, nec generari. Animam esse formam substantialem humani corporis. Se esse imperatorem mundi, et regem cæli, et Deum terrenum. ANI-MAM ESSE IMMORTALEM*; et omnia illa infinita portenta in Romano sterquilinio decretorum, ut qualis est ejus fides, tale sit evangelium, tales et fideles, talis et ecclesia, et [1. ut.] habeant similem labra lactucam, et dignum patella sit operculum. — *Affertio articulorum innium Martini Lutheri, per bullam Leonis X. damnatorum.* Oper. Tom. ii. fol. 107. Wittembergæ, 1562. “ *form*

“*form of the human body. The Pope is the emperor of*
 “*the world, and the king of heaven, and God upon*
 “*earth.* THE SOUL IS IMMORTAL, with
 “all those monstrous opinions to be found in the
 “Roman dunghill of decretals, that such as his
 “faith is, such may be his gospel, such his disci-
 “ples, and such his church, that the mouth may
 “have meat suitable for it, and the dish, a cover
 “worthy of it.”

This ironical permission of *Luther* is evidently aimed at those decrees of the Popes, which were founded upon scholastic determinations (*m*). But more particularly at that *Lateran* canon above-mentioned, which established the immortality of the soul after *Aquinas*, in consequence of its being the substantial form of the body. *Sylvester Prierias*, in his dispute with *Luther*, relied almost wholly on the authority of *St. Thomas*, whom *Luther* in his replication, treated with the utmost contempt (*n*). Hence may arise a doubt whether *Luther* in this passage, intended only to reprobate the *school doctrine* of the immortality of the soul, or to deny the thing itself?

Cardinal *du Perron*, supposes *Luther* denied the immortality of the soul, for the sake of the effect the contrary doctrine would have upon the practice

(*m*) The axiom, that, *The essence of God neither generates nor is generated*, is a sentence of *Lombard*, which being controverted by the Abbot *Joachim*, as heretical and absurd, was patronized and decreed in the *Lateran* council held under *Innocent III*, in the year 1215, where *Joachim* was formally condemned. *Lombard's* proposition was afterwards espoused and vindicated by *Aquinas*.

(*n*) *Sleidan*, lib. 1.

of invoking saints (*o*). But it is certain that *Luther* himself had not quite laid aside the practice of invocation, at the time he wrote this defence of his articles (*p*).

Afterwards indeed *Luther* espoused the doctrine of the sleep of the soul, upon a scripture foundation, and *then* he made use of it as a confutation of purgatory and faint-worship, and continued in that belief to the last moment of his life.

I know this hath been controverted even by some of his own followers. The question upon many accounts, is worth debating; and as the discussion of it would break the thread of our present disquisition, I shall reserve what I have to say upon the subject, for an *Appendix*; observing that *Luther* in his commentary upon *Ecclesiastes*, which was published in the year 1532, was clearly and indisputably on the side of those who maintain the sleep of the soul.

C H A P. V.

William Tyndall *defends Luther against Sir Thomas More's objections to the doctrine of the sleep of the soul. This a proof that the doctrine was held by the first Reformers. Deserted afterwards by many Protestants. The probable occasion of Tyndall's Protestation. Copy of the said Protestation. Extract of a Letter from Tyndall to Frith, supposed to refer to the contents of the Protestation.*

IN the year 1530 William Tyndall answered Sir 1530.
Thomas More's Dialogue. More objected to Lu- ~

(*o*) *Perroniana*, motte LUTHER.

(*p*) *Seckendorff*, in *Indice tertio ad annum 1521.*

ther, that he held, “ that all foules lye and sleep
 “ till domes day.” It is to be supposed, that, if this
 was not *Luther’s* doctrine, *Tyndall* would have de-
 nied it ; or at least have said, that it was not held
 by the Protestants in general. Instead of that he
 acknowledges it for the doctrine of the Protec-
 tants, grounded on scripture, as appears by his an-
 swer. *Viz.*

“ And ye in putting them [departed souls] in
 “ heauen, hell, and purgatory, destroy the argu-
 “ mentes wherwith Christ and Paul proue the re-
 “ surrection. What God doth with them, that
 “ shall we know when we come to them. The
 “ true faith putteth the resurrection, which we be
 “ warned to looke for euery houre. The heathen
 “ philosophers denying *that*, did put, that the
 “ foules did euer lyue. And the Pope ioyneth the
 “ spirituall doctrine of Christ, and the fleshly doc-
 “ trine of philosophers together, things so contrary
 “ that they cannot agree, no more then the spirite
 “ and the fleshe do in a Christen man. And be-
 “ cause the fleshly minded Pope consenteth unto
 “ heathen doctrine, therefore he corrupteth the
 “ scripture to stablish it. *Moses* saith in *Deut.* the
 “ secrete thinges pertaine unto the Lord, and the
 “ thynges that be opened pertaine unto us, that
 “ we [may] do all that is written in the booke.
 “ Wherefore, Sir, if we loued the Lawes of God,
 “ and would occupy our selues to fulfill them, and
 “ woulde, on the other side be meeke, and let
 “ God alone wyth hys secretes, and suffer him to
 “ be wiser than we, we should make none article of
 “ the faith of this or that.” And again, “ If the
 “ foules

“soules be in heaven, tell me why they be not in
 “as good case as the angels be? And then what
 “cause is there of the resurrection (q)?”

Again. *More* objects thus. “What shall he
 “care, how long he liue in sinne that beleueth *Lu-*
 “*ther*, that he shall after this life feele neyther
 “good nor euill in bodye nor soule, untill the day
 “of dome.”——*Tyndall* answers, “Christ and hys
 “apostles taught no other, but warned to looke
 “for Christs comming agayne euery houre: which
 “comming agayne, because ye beleue will neuer
 “be, therefore haue ye fayned that other mar-
 “chaundise (r)?”

These extracts plainly shew, what was the doctrine espoused by the first Reformers upon this subject, that is to say, they shew what they were charged with by their aduersaries, and what they themselves avowed. *Tyndall*, we may observe, ascribes the contrary doctrine (as *Luther* had done before him) to the Pope; and in saying, that *the Pope joined the spiritual doctrine of Christ, and the fleshly doctrine of the philosophers together*, he plainly alluded to the proofs from scripture alledged in the *Lateran* canon, to support the dogma of the *Peripatetics*, that *the soul is the substantial form of the body*; which the *Cartesians* afterwards considered as inconsistent with its immateriality, and consequently, destructive of the doctrine of its immortality.

When *Tyndall* wrote this answer to Sir *Thomas More's* Dialogue, he did not suspect he had any ad-

(q) *Tyndall's* Works published by *Fox*. 1573. p. 324.

(r) *Ibid.* p. 327.

verfaries upon this point except the Papifts. But it fhould feem, that in no long time after, the Proteftants had put him to his purgation on this article. The canon of the *Lateran* Council determines, that upon the fupposition that the foul is mortal, a refurrection of the dead is not to be expected. How they grounded this conclufion on thefe premiffes, does not appear, nor is at all comprehenfible. The fame notion however had got into the heads of fome Proteftants. The contents of the next fection will prove the fact, but without enabling us to account for it. It was referved for a genius of the prefent age to prove the refurrection of the dead, through the *medium* of the feparate exiftence of the foul. What we know is, that *Tyndall* was obliged to publifh a folemn proteftation afferting his orthodoxy on the article of the refurrection of the dead, and the ftate of departed fouls, which he would hardly have done to exculpate himfelf to the Papifts. It was more probably occafioned by the objections of fome Proteftants to fo much of his answer to Sir *Thomas More*, as hath been cited above. Let the reader judge from the terms of the Proteftation it felf. Here it is.

A Proteftation made by William Tyndall, touching the refurrection of the bodyes, and the ftate of the foules after this life ; adftracted [abstracted] out of a Preface of his that he made to the New Testament, which he fet forth in the yeare 1534.

“ Concernyng the refurrection, I protefte before
 “ God and our Saviour Jefus Chrift, and before
 “ the univerfall congregation that beleueth in him,
 “ that I belecue according to the open and mani-
 “ feft

“ fest scriptures and catholicke faith, that Christ is
 “ risen agayne in the flesh which he receaued of his
 “ mother the blessed virgine Mary, and body
 “ wherein he died. And that we shall all, both
 “ good and bad, rise both flesh and body, and ap-
 “ pear together before the judgement seat of Christ,
 “ to receeue euery man according to his deedes. And
 “ that the bodies of all that belieue, and continue in
 “ the true faith of Christ, shall be indewed with like
 “ immortalitie and glory, as is the body of Christ.

“ And I protest before God and our Saviour
 “ Christ and all that beleue in him, that I hold
 “ of the foules that are departed, as much as may
 “ bee proued by manifest and open scripture, and
 “ thinke the foules departed in the faith of Christ,
 “ and loue of the lawe of God, to be in no worse
 “ case than the soule of Christ was, from the tyme
 “ that he deliuered his spirite into the handes of his
 “ father, untill the resurrection of his body in glory
 “ and immortalitie. Neuertheless, I confesse open-
 “ ly, that I am not perswaded, that they be already
 “ in the full glory that Christ is in, or the elect an-
 “ gels of God are in. Neither is it any article of
 “ my faith: for if so it were, I see not but then the
 “ preaching of the resurrection of the flesh, were a
 “ thyng in vayne. Notwithstanding yet I am rea-
 “ dy to beleue it, if it may be prooued with open
 “ scripture.” (f)

This Protestation being not to be found in any
 Preface or Prologue to the former editions of
Tyndall's New Testament, was doubtless calculated

(f) See *Tyndall's Works* published by Fox. 1573. at the
 beginning of the book.

to obviate some objections which the Friends of the Reformation had made in the interval, to *Tyndall's* doctrine in his controversy with Sir *T. More*. If *John Fox* knew any particulars concerning the offence given by *Tyndall* to the Protestants on this head, he hath left us in the dark, making no mention of any such offence, either in his *Acts and Monuments*, or in the abridgement of *Tyndall's* Life prefixed to his Edition of his works.

There is a letter of *Tyndall* to *Frith*, preserved by *Fox*, (s) wherein is a caution which seems to allude to this controversy.—“ You will,” says *Tyndall*, “ crepe alow by the ground, and walk in
 “ those things that the conscience may feel, and
 “ not in the imaginations of the brain ; in fear, and
 “ not in boldness ; in open and necessary things,
 “ and not to pronounce or define of *hid secrets*, or
 “ things that neither help or hinder, whether they
 “ be so or no ; in unitie, and not in seditious opini-
 “ ons ; infomuch, that if you be sure you know,
 “ yet in things that may abide leifure, you will de-
 “ ferr, or say (till other agree with you) *methink*
 “ *the text requireth this sense or understanding* : yea
 “ and that if you be sure that your part be good,
 “ and another hold the contrary, yet if it be a thing
 “ that maketh no matter, you will laugh and let
 “ it pass, and referr the thing to other men, *and*
 “ *stick you stiffly and stubbornly in earnest and necessary*
 “ *things.*”

This admonition was written in the year 1533,

(s) *Acts and Mon. Part. ii. p. 987. and Tyndall's Works.*
 P. 455.

and certainly alludes to differences of opinion among the Protestants themselves, and particularly to this concerning the state of departed souls, which as we have seen, *Tyndall*, in his answer to Sir *T. More*, put among the secrets of God. These were intimations which, in his disputes with the Papists, *Frith* did not want; and I have cited them only to shew the probability that *Tyndall's* Protestation had respect chiefly to Protestant objectors. For that such there were will be seen in the next chapter (t).

CHAP.

(t) *Tyndall* indeed gives testimony in this letter to *Frith*, and also in his protestation, to another original and important maxim of the first reformers, namely, *to stick stiffly and stubbornly to necessary things*, that is, to things that may be *openly and manifestly proved by the Scriptures; and to make no article of faith of this or that, which may not be so proved, and consequently is not necessary*. This indeed is not a doctrine likely to be adopted by councils and convocations. Churchmen in high stations presume to hold their authority by a different tenure; but it is nevertheless the true original doctrine of the reformation, and they who chuse *stiffly and stubbornly* to stick to another rule, should find a denomination more properly descriptive of their principles, than that of *Protestant*. What *Tyndall* thought of the necessity of believing the intermediate happiness of souls departed in the faith of Christ, may be understood by his declaration, that, in his opinion, if this were an article of faith, the preaching of the resurrection of the flesh were a thing in vain. There is great reason to believe that the arguments of the early Protestants against Purgatory and saint-worship, implied their belief the sleep of the soul. The eighteenth of the articles exhibited in Scotland in 1546 against *George Wishart* was in these words. *Thou false heretic hast preached openly, saying, that the soul of Man shall sleep to the latter day of judgment, and shall not obtain life immortal untill that day*. To which *Wishart* answered, “ God full of

C H A P. VI.

CALVIN's *Psychopannychia*. *The time and place of its publication remarkable. On what account. An angry, abusive, weak performance. His arguments and proofs adopted, by modern Psychopannychists. Disingenuous with respect to the Anabaptists. And the heathen philosophers.*

1534. *~* **A** Bout this time, 1534, Calvin had begun to figure, and two years after Luther had published the commentary just mentioned, Calvin put out

“mercy and goodness forgive them that say such things of
 “me. I wot and know surely by the word of God, that he
 “which hath begun to have the faith of Jesus Christs, and be-
 “lieveth firmly in him, I know surely the soul of that man
 “shall never sleep, but ever shall live an immortal life. The
 “life which is renewed from day to day in grace and aug-
 “mented; nor yet shall ever perish or have an end, but ever
 “immortal shall live with Christ. To which life all that be-
 “lieve in him shall come, and rest in eternal glory.” *Fox.*
Acts and Mon. p. 1157. There is an obscurity, and probably
 an intended ambiguity in this good man's answer. Perhaps a
 passage in Luther's Table-talk, may give some light into his
 meaning. He says of the Godly who are afflicted on earth,
 “True it is, they have peace in faith, but the same peace is
 “invisible, and surpasseth all human conceit; insomuch that
 “being even in death, *feeling no life at all*, we must neverthe-
 “less *believe we live.*” p. 402. Both Luther and Wishart
 evidently refer to the text, *He that liveth and believeth in me*
shall never die. Wishart indeed adds afterwards, *I know*
surely that my faith is such, that my soul shall sup. with Christ
ere it be six hours. Alluding to our Saviour's promise to the
 penitent thief. Be it however observed, that this life of the
 soul

out a small tract at *Orleans*, which he intituled, *Psychopannychia*, by which word is signified that the soul wakes throughout the whole night of death, with all the consciousness and sensibility necessary to the enjoyment of happiness.

There is something remarkable in the time and place of this publication.

In this very year 1534, and in this very city of *Orleans*, a ghost was conjured up by the *Franciscans*, which played a number of pranks, much in the style of the late *Cock-lane* spirit, and with much the same views of spite and revenge (*rr*). *Sleidan*, who tells the story, having related how much the impostors were pitied and relieved, under their correction, by the populace, and particularly by the good women, proceeds to observe what excellent purposes of the ecclesiastical kind, were answered by these same spectres, particularly in supporting the doctrine of purgatory, encouraging private masses, and bringing in large profits to the priests. “ But, continues “ he, after *Luther*’s doctrine came to be understood, “ and had gained a little strength, this kind of “ spectres by degrees vanished away. For *Luther* “ teaches from the scriptures, that the souls of the “ dead are at rest, waiting for the final day of

soul depends entirely upon FAITH. What became of the souls of unbelievers (to which probably the accusation more immediately related) WISHART sayeth not.

(*rr*) Rogatus quid vellet [*Novicius*] et quis esset? significat non sibi licere loqui. Jubetur ergo per signa respondere ad interrogata. Foramen erat factum, per quod admotis auribus, exorcistæ vocem haurire poterat et intelligere. Deinde tabulam habebat ad manum, quam interrogatus, feriebat.

“ judgment ; and that those disturbances, frightful
 “ noises and phantoms are raised by Satan, who
 “ loses no opportunity of confirming men in the
 “ practice of impious rites, and the belief of false
 “ opinions, that he may render ineffectual the bleff-
 “ ings conferred upon us by our Saviour Christ (s).”

Now *Calvin* had composed his book seven years before its publication at *Orleans* ; and why he should chuse this critical season to disclose these sentiments, would be hard to say. Some part of this year he spent at *Paris*, and most probably he came not to *Orleans*, till the latter end of it. The juggle of the *Franciscans*, and the process against them, run out into a great length of time, and as this incident was considerable enough to find a place in *Sleidan's* history, it could be no secret to *Calvin*. But admit that *Calvin's* book made its appearance before the *Franciscan* spectre ; it is certain that *Luther's* doctrine, mentioned by *Sleidan*, was still earlier by some years ; and it is equally certain, that in proportion as *Luther's* principle bore down the trade of apparitions, that of *Calvin*, would encourage and promote it.

LUTHER, by consigning *all* the dead to a state of rest and sleep, left no pretence for the appearance of human souls after death. But *Calvin* managed his matters so, that though he was willing to suppose the souls of the elect, were in such a state of felicity, as would not admit of their being interrupted by wordly considerations ; yet he left the

(s) *Sleidan* comment. L. IX. p. 239—242.

sons of perdition to their liberty. For he says, " It is nothing to him what becomes of *their* souls ; " he would only be responsible for the faithful (*t*) : which I suppose, has given the hint to all succeeding *Psychopannichists*, to be so exceeding shy of mentioning the condition of wicked souls in a separate state : fearing, as it should seem, to burn their fingers in *purgatory*.

In the mean time, as all the spectres of the monks were manufactured out of these *wicked* souls, it was no contemptible favour to leave them access to this reprobate group ; one of these, has occasionally been worth more to a church or a convent, than a dozen saints.

As to the book itself, it is hot, furious, and abusive. The *Hypnologists*, as he calls them, are *bablers*, *madmen*, *dreamers*, *drunkards* ; in one word, *Anabaptists* and *Catabaptists*, under which name he says, are comprehended all sorts and kinds of wickednesses (*u*). Happily for them, his arguments are as feeble and sophistical as they themselves could wish. Such as they are however, they have furnished all the orators and disputants for the consciousness of the separate soul, from that day to this, with scriptural authorities. For *Calvin* had so much wit in

(*t*) Quod si quis ipforum adhuc obstrepat, *Quid perditionis filiis futurum sit* ? Nihil ad nos. Ego pro fidelibus respondeo. — *Psychopan* fol. 50. of the *Strasburgh* edition, 1545.

(*u*) And yet he has the modesty to say in his second preface, *Quamquam nec contra eos [Anabaptistas] nisi modicè bilem effudi ; ut qui ab omni procacitate et loquendi petulantia PERPETUO abstinuerim.*

his

his anger, as not to meddle with the philosophical arguments for immortality (x)

But though he charges the Anabaptists with first broaching the doctrine of the sleep of the soul, in these latter days, he is nevertheless obliged to own, that some thousands were in that way of thinking, and some of these good men; that is to say, *not* Anabaptists. Whence it appears, that he very well knew this doctrine was no way connected with the pernicious extravagancies of those enthusiasts; though this he is disingenuous enough to insinuate in divers passages (y).

(x) “Valeant philosophi, *says he*, quibus, cum in omnibus pene rebus solemne sit, nec finem, nec modum facere dissensionibus; hic ita inter se rixantur, ut vix duos testes habiturus sis, in quacunque tandem opinione acquiescas.” He acknowledges however that *Plato* and *Aristotle* have discoursed excellently on the *faculties* of the soul, but that you would in vain consult them for any just account of its substance or origin. However, he thinks them upon the whole wiser and more orthodox than the *Hypnologists*, who boast that they are disciples of Christ, *fol.* i. v.

(y) *Calvin* wrote two prefaces to his *Psychopannychia*, the one at *Orleans* 1534, the other at *Basil* 1536, accommodated to the two editions of his book. Both these prefaces are in the *Strasburgh* edition of 1545. It is only in the latter of them that he allows some of those who held the sleep of the soul, to be good men. Possibly he might have heard of *Tyndall*, and some others of the same sentiments as good as himself, whom he could, with no decency, rank with such wretches as he had made the Anabaptists in his first preface. His words however sufficiently shew, that there were more than *Luther* and *Tyndall* who differed from him on this article, whom he had no right to suppose, as he does, to be more credulous, or more ignorant of the scriptures, than himself.

He

He says likewise in one of his prefaces, “ that they
 “ who hold the opinion he endeavours to confute,
 “ pay no regard to the scriptures ;” even while
 he is labouring and sweating to set aside the force of
 a great number of texts they bring from thence.

Among other things, he takes notice of an objection to his system, drawn from the silence of the scriptures, touching any rewards and punishments but those of a final judgment.

He acknowledges the fact, but will not allow of the consequence. “ I answer, says he, that Christ is
 “ our head, whose kingdom and glory have not yet
 “ appeared. If the members were to go before the
 “ head, the order of things would be perverted and
 “ preposterous. But we shall then follow our
 “ prince, when he shall come in the glory of his
 “ Father, and sit upon the throne of his majesty.
 “ *In the mean time, THAT liveth*, which is in us,
 “ of, or from God, namely our spirit, because Christ
 “ *liveth* who is our *life*; for it would be absurd
 “ that we should *perish*, while our *life liveth*. And
 “ because our *life* is in God, it is therefore *with*
 “ God and happy (yy).

It would be doing too much honour to his contemptible string of quibbles to offer a replication. We therefore bid *John Calvin* good night, observing only that one might bring his own commentaries, composed in his riper years, to confront the foolish interpretations of many scriptures cited in the *Psychopannychia*.

(yy) *Psychopan*, fol. 35.

C H A P. VII.

The doctrine of the immortality of the soul exhibited in the Protestant Confessions of Faith. Little or nothing of it in the earliest of them. Obscure and ambiguous on the article of saint-worship. The first Helvetic Confession silent as to the doctrine of the soul's immortality. The doctrine asserted in that of Wirtenbergh. In what terms. Inconsistency of the Saxon Confession of 1551. Poorly qualified by the Gallic and Belgic harmonizers. The obnoxious clause left out by the editors of the Corpus Confessionum of 1612.

1530-
36. **I**N no long time, the doctrine of the separate existence of the soul began to creep into the public Confessions of divers protestant churches, and consequently to be equally sacred among the reformed, as the canons of *Clement* and *Leo* had made it among the papists.

Hitherto indeed no formal confession of the protestant faith had publicly appeared, except those presented to the Emperor, *Charles V.* at the Diet of *Augsburgh*, 1530, one by the Elector of *Saxony* and the Princes his adherents, known by the name of the confession of *Augsburgh*; and another by the free cities of *Strasburgh*, *Constance*, *Memmmingen*, and *Lindau*.

The latter has nothing concerning the immortality of the soul, nor any thing tending to discover the sentiments of the subscribers, on that subject.

The other, which was drawn up by *Melancthon*, touches upon it very lightly, in the article concerning

ing the invocation of saints, upon the pretence, that the writers among the *Lutherans* had been very full on the subject. This want of precision begat conferences between the papists and protestants, wherein the latter are said to have allowed, “ that saints
 “ and angels intercede for us, and were therefore to
 “ be honoured but not invoked (z).” This and other concessions mentioned during this Diet, are put to the account of *Melancthon*’s timidity. Whether he ever made such a concession is yet a problem (a), nor does such allowance seem to be very consistent with the argument in the *Confession*, viz. “ that invocation of saints attributes omnipotence
 “ to the dead, and implies that the saints know the
 “ motions of men’s hearts (b).” Be that as it might, this doctrine of *intercession*, under certain limitations, was afterwards admitted by some of the *Lutherans*, as we shall presently see.

The first *Helvetic* confession, exhibited by *Bucer* and *Capito* at the convention of Divines at *Wittenbergh*, in the year 1536, and afterwards by *Bucer* alone at *Smalcald* 1537, makes no mention of the separate soul, or caring for the dead. This confession, and that of the four free cities above-mentioned, were probably both drawn up by *Bucer*. (c)

In

(z) *Maimbourg Hist. Luth.* apud *Seckendorf* l. ii. pag. 178.

(a) Vid. *Seckendorf* l. iii. p. 548.

(b) *Corpus Confess.* p. 28. partis 2dæ.

(c) I take these accounts from the *Harmony of Confessions* published at Geneva 1581. Perhaps it may be thought strange that so few of the reformed churches as were then in being, should have had any formal confession for so long a time

1551. In the year 1551, Confessions were prepared to be exhibited to the Council of *Trent* by divers protestant states and churches, among others, by the Duke of *Wirtenbergh*, and by the churches of *Saxony*.

“ We

time, particularly that there should be an interval of fourteen years, viz. from 1537 to 1551, wherein we have no account of any new formulary of that kind. There were probably particular churches who had their objections to these explicit confessions, on account of the difference of opinion among them, upon particular articles, and for want of a leader of sufficient authority to enforce an assent to them. *Calvin*, as we are informed by Mr. *Bayle*, [Dict. Art. Calvin.] made all the people of *Geneva* solemnly abjure Popery, and swear to a prescribed form of faith, in 1537. But his stiffness in some points of discipline, occasioned his dismissal, or rather banishment from *Geneva* the year following. He was recalled in 1541, and recovered his authority and influence, not only at *Geneva*, but in the reformed churches at a distance, viz. in *France*, *Germany*, *England*, *Poland*, &c. [Bayle, u. s.] However the deference paid to his judgment, was not without its limits, particularly in the article of publishing Confessions of faith. This appears from two letters of his, the one to *Luther*, the other to *Melancthon*, complaining of the backwardness of the French on this head. *Cum Gallos nostros viderem*, [says he to *Luther*,] *quotquot a tenebris Papatus ad sanitatem fidei reducti erant, nihil tamen de Confessione mutare, ac perinde se polluere sacrilegiis Papistarum, ac si nullum veræ doctrinæ gustum haberent, temperare mihi non potui quin tantam hanc socordiam, sicuti meo judicio merebant, acriter reprehenderem. Qualis enim hæc fides, quæ intus in animo sepulta, nullam in fidei confessionem erumpit? Qualis religio quæ sub idololatriæ simulatione demersa jacet?* This Letter is subjoined to *Alexander More's* oration intitled CALVINUS, published by *Gamonet*. 1648. He tells *Luther* afterwards, that he had written two books upon the subject, which

“ We acknowledge, say the *Wirtenberghers*, that
 “ the saints in heaven pray for us before God, *suo*
 “ *quodam modo.*” In the next chapter they say,
 “ Faith requires that we should think that the
 “ dead are not nothing, but that they truly live
 “ before God; the pious happily in Christ; the
 “ wicked in an horrible expectation of the revela-
 “ tion of divine judgment (*cc*).” Wresting thus
 what the Apostle *Heb.* x. 27, says of apostates in
 this world, to the *intermediate* state of the impious
 dead; as indeed *Calvin* had done before them (*d*).

which had in part awakened some of them to a sense of their
 duty, and had occasioned a question among them, what they
 should do? They objected, it seems, that to publish a Con-
 fession, would expose them to persecution. But *Calvin* was
 obliged to own, that they had other *specious reasons*, which
 he could not answer to their satisfaction, and therefore, at
 their request, applied to *Luther* for a final determination.
 This Letter is dated Feb. 18, 1545. *Calvin's* Letter to *Me-*
lancthon is of the same date, and was sent by the same mes-
 senger. *Luther* never answered this Letter that I can find.
Melancthon sent his judgment to *Calvin*, which the latter af-
 terwards published. The main dispute seems to have been
 whether it was lawful for a Protestant to be present at Popish
 worship, and to join in their ceremonies or not? *Calvin*, who
 held the negative, thought the publication of their Confes-
 sion would effectually prevent the practice. The French
 Churches however, had no formal Confession till the year
 1559.

(*cc*) Harmon. Conf. p. 14. *imæ partis.*

(*d*) Ubi oculi mentis nostræ, qui nunc sepulti in carne,
 hebetes sunt, absterferint hanc velut lippitudinem, videbimus
 quæ expectabamus, et ea requie delectabimur. Neque enim
 veremur id post Apostolum dicere, qui è converso dicit φοβεραν
 τὴν ἐκδοκὴν κρισεως manere reprobos. Si hæc terribilis, illa
 sane et læta, et beata merito vocabitur. *Psychopan*, 35. f. v.

The

The *Saxons* say, “ In this faith [*viz.* of the three
 “ creeds] we invoke the true God, who manifest-
 “ ed himself to his church by sending his son, and
 “ adding other illustrious testimonies, *joyning our*
 “ *prayers with all saints in heaven and earth.*” In
 another place however they affirm, “ that the saints
 “ are *dead*, and cannot hear the prayers of their vo-
 “ taries(*e*),” and how in that case they can “ *joyn* with
 “ them in prayer,” is a little incomprehensible.

However when the *Harmonizers* of the Protestant
 confessions, under the auspices of the *Belgic* and
Gallican churches, undertook in the year 1581, to
 make all things smooth and consistent, they found
 themselves under a necessity of applying a correc-
 tive to these doctrines of the *Saxons* and *Wirten-*
berghers, as follows.

“ *Joyning our Prayer*] We learn in many places of
 “ the holy scripture, that the angels, according to
 “ the nature of the ministry which they are sent to
 “ perform, do further the salvation of the godly,
 “ and it is evident from that saying, *Love doth not*
 “ *fall away*, and by *Apoc.* vi. 10, that the spirits of
 “ the saints taken up unto Christ, do with *their holy*
 “ *desires*, IN SOME SORT, help forward the grace
 “ and goodness of God, touching the full deliver-
 “ ance of the church. And we judge that as well
 “ this, as other places of the same confession, and
 “ also that place in the 23d chap. of the confession
 “ of *Wirtenbergh*, which followeth after the 2d sec-
 “ tion, p. 45 [p. 48 of the latin] are so to be inter-
 “ preted. And we acknowledge NO OTHER inter-

(*e*) Corpus Conf. p. 72, & 125. 2dæ partis.

“ cession

“cession or intreating, either of the blessed angels,
 “or of the spirits of holy men, that are now de-
 “parted from us (f).”

Probè fecistis, incertior sum multo quam dudum.

When people say the saints pray for them, intercede for them, and that they are better for such intercession, though I know they are mistaken, I know at least what they mean. But when I am told, “that (not the *prayers*, but) the *desires* of the saints, “do, *in some sort* help forward the grace and goodness of God, in the full deliverance of the church,” I am bewildered in a mist of words, to which I can fix no ideas.

The editors of the *Corpus Confessionum*, made shorter work with the Saxons still, by exhibiting their confession without the clause, *conjunctâ precatatione nostra*. I was going to say, *fairly*, till I cast my eye by chance on the first words of the preface to this collection, viz. *Exhibenter in hoc volumine, celeberrimæ confessiones fidei, ex optimis quibusque editionibus, EX OMNI PARTE INTEGRÆ.*

For my part, I cannot help commiserating the distresses of these poor men, who having once allowed the Saints a conscious existence in heaven, were so hard put to it to keep clear of the consequences.

(f) See the *Observations* at the end of the *Harmony* of Confessions. *Obs. 1.* upon the *Saxon* confession.

D C H A P.

C H A P. VIII.

The 40th of K. Edward the 6th's Articles, the first instance of the exprefs condemnation of the doctrine of the sleep of the soul, in a Protestant Confession. A passage from Bishop Burnet relative to those Articles. A conjecture at whom that article was aimed. The article dismissed upon the review in 1562.

1552. **T**HERE was however as yet, nothing in any of these confessions, which formally condemned the doctrine of *the sleep of the soul*, as an *heresy*. The *Lutherans*, as appears by the particulars above recited, halted between two opinions. Whatever *Luther's* private sentiments were, he had no where decided dogmatically on the subject; and the difference between his followers, and those of *Zuinglius* concerning the sacrament, so wholly engrossed the attention of both parties, that other matters were much overlooked.

The honour of first condemning this tenet was reserved for our English Reformers, who in the 40th of King *Edward's* articles composed in the year 1552, and published the year following, expressed themselves thus.

“ They who say that the souls of such as depart
 “ hence do sleep, being without all sense, feeling,
 “ and perceiving, until the day of judgment, or
 “ affirm that the souls die with the bodies, and at
 “ the last day shall be raised up with the same, do
 “ utterly dissent from the right belief declared un-
 “ to us in the holy scripture.”

Bishop

Bishop *Burnet*, speaking of these articles, says,
 “ Thus was the doctrine of the church cast into a
 “ *short* and *plain* form, in which they took care
 “ both to establish the positive articles of religion,
 “ and to cut off the errors formerly introduced in
 “ the time of popery, or of late broached by the Ana-
 “ baptists and Enthusiasts of *Germany*; avoiding the
 “ niceties of schoolmen, and the peremptoriness of
 “ the writers of controversy (g).”

One may be pretty sure that this article was not aimed at any error of popery; and what business had our reformers to condemn the Enthusiasts of *Germany*, in a point of doctrine which had not been censured publicly by the orthodox of their own country? It is probable the doctrine here condemned had been held and propagated by some of our own people at home.

“ There were,” says *Strype*, “ a looser sort of professors of religion, a sort of *Anabaptists*, who, a little before that time, had private meetings, wherein they proposed *odd questions*, and vented dangerous doctrines and opinions. Of these the council having notice, they thought it very fit to discountenance and restrain them (h).”

The truth is, whoever in those days entertained any opinion out of the common road, was called an *Anabaptist*, though perhaps he did not know what were the distinguishing doctrines of that sect. Just as in these latter times they who have been trouble-

(g) *Burnet's Hist. Ref.* vol. ii. p. 168.

(h) *Life of Cranmer*, p. 233.

some to the professors of the orthodox system, have been classed with *Arians*, *Socinians*, *Methodists*, &c.

1562. *W* But whatever was the motive with King *Edward*'s reformers to declare against the sleep of the soul in this peremptory manner, when the articles came to be reviewed in 1562, by *Parker* and his associates, this 40th article was dropped; in consideration, as it should seem, that by allowing *separate* souls to have sense, feeling, and perception, the doctrines of purgatory and invocation would very naturally follow. It is for their honour too, to suppose they had looked into the scriptures with a little more care and sagacity than their predecessors, and could not find the *right belief* mentioned in the article.

C H A P. IX.

The second Helvetic Confession totally Calvinistical. Condemns the doctrine of the Sleep of the Soul. Remarks upon the seventh article of it. Adopts the peripatetic doctrine of substantial forms. Anathematizes in the terms of a popish canon. Condemns inadvertently a doctrine of Calvin. Part of the 27th article of it. Espouses the Florentine doctrine of the immediate migration of holy Souls to Heaven.

1566. *W* IN the year 1566, was published the second *Helvetic* confession, fabricated entirely upon the Calvinistical plan. *Luther* had now been long out of the way, and the reign of *Calvin* at *Geneva* had determined by his death, but two years before. *Beza* succeeded

succeeded him, and most probably drew up this confession, of which the following is part of the seventh article, intituled, *Of the creation of all things, of angels, the devil, and man.*

“ We hold that man consists of two, and those
 “ different substances in one person ; of an immortal soul, seeing that, being separated from the body, it neither sleeps nor dies ; and of a mortal body, which yet, at the last judgment, shall be raised from the dead, that the whole man from thenceforward may remain to eternity, either in life or death. We condemn all who scoff at the immortality of the soul, or bring it into doubt by subtle disputations, or who say that the soul sleeps, or that it is a part of God (i).”

Who sees not in this *protestant* canon, the features of that of the *Lateran* council?

1. Mr *Bayle*, apologizing for *Pomponatius*, has the following remark. “ In *Pomponatius*’s time they knew of no philosophical system but that of *Aristotle*, so that to assert that the immortality of the soul could not be proved by the principles of that philosopher, and to assert that it could not be proved by philosophical reasons, was one and the same thing (k).”

What *Bayle* says of the time of *Pomponatius*, is equally true of the time of *Calvin* and *Beza*. The doctrine of the two substances in man, is founded upon the philosophy of *Aristotle*, in the *Helvetic*, as well as in the *Roman Bull*. *Calvin* was as deep in substantial forms, as *Clement* or *Leo* : and as it might

(i) Corp. Confess. p. 25. imæ partis.

(k) *Bayle*, POMPONACE Rem. [F.]

be made appear by his account of election, reprobation, grace, &c. had as much occasion for them.

2. The *Helvetic* heroes as well as the *pontifician*, are for prohibiting all disputes upon the question concerning the immortality of the soul, and both under the same anathema. *Damnamus et reprobamus*, &c.

3. The *Helvetians* say, "We condemn all who assert that the soul is *a part of God*." CALVIN, if I mistake not, asserted something very like it, in a passage cited above out of *Psychopannychia*. He calls the soul, *id quod in nobis ex Deo est*. If by *ex Deo*, he meant only *from God*, the same may be said of every ingredient in our composition. But his expression shews that he meant to distinguish the soul from something else which was not *ex Deo*, in the same sense at least. How this distinction can be explained without considering the soul, as *discerptum quiddam ex Deo*, I see not.

In the twenty-sixth article of the same confession, we meet with the following passage.

"We believe that the faithful migrate directly from their corporeal death to Christ, and therefore do not want the prayers, liturgies, or liturgic offices of the living for the dead. Also we believe that the wicked are directly precipitated into Hell, from whence there is no *outlet* for impious persons, to be procured by any offices of the living."

If this is really the case, not only liturgic offices, but even a resurrection, and a future judgment are needless things. Be it remarked that this is the first time we meet with the *Florentine* doctrine, of *immediate*

mediate migration to Christ (noted as a deviation from the primitive creed by Bp. Taylor, as above) publicly avowed by a protestant church. However, so little careful were these Helvetians of expressing themselves accurately and consistently, that in another place of this very confession, the souls or spirits of the saints get no higher than the stars. *Postquam astra petiisset spiritus.* Art. V.

C H A P. X.

The Scottish Confession, art. 17th, declares against the Sleep of the Soul. Curious particulars relating to this Confession. Does not harmonize with the second Helvetic touching the immediate Migration of holy souls to Christ, or the direct precipitation of the wicked and unbelievers into Hell.

THESE last particulars remind me of our neighbours the Scots, whom I was in some danger of passing by. In the year 1560, their confession was offered in, and ratified by the Parliament at Edinburgh, August 17 (1), of which here followeth the seventeenth Article.

“ The elect departed are in peace, and rest from
 “ their labours: not that they slepe and come to a
 “ certain oblivion, as some fantasticks do affirme:
 “ but that they are delivered from all fear and tor-
 “ ment, and all temptations to which we and all

(1) See Spotswood's Hist. of the church of Scotland, B. iii. p. 150. Ed. 1677. where are some circumstances much to the honour of our reforming neighbours.

“ God’s elect are subject in this life, and therefore
 “ do bear the name of the church militant : as con-
 “ trariwise, the reprobate and unfaithful departed
 “ have anguish and paine that cannot be expressed.
 “ So that neither are the one nor the other in such
 “ slepe that they fele not their torment” [1. joy or
 torment.] * for which they quote. *Luke* xvi. 22,
 23. *xxiii.* 43. *Apoc.* vi. 9.

I

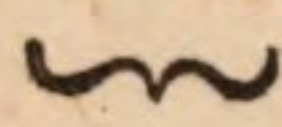
(*) I transcribe this from a copy of the Scottish confession, printed at *London*, by *Rouland Hall*, 1561, said to be set forth and authorized according to the *Quenes Majesties injunctions*. [*Elizabeth.*] It is exactly the same which is at the end of the English translation of the *Harmony of Confessions*, of which I have two editions, and all three agree in saying that, “ neither the one nor the other feel their torment.” But the latin in the *Corpus Confessionum*, has it, *Ut neque hi neque illi, adeo dormiunt, quin sentiunt in qua conditione versentur*. In the History of the Reformation in *Scotland* ascribed to *John Knox*, the words are, “ so that neither are the one nor the other in such slepe, that they feel not joy or torment.” The latin translation of this Confession was made by a Scotch Nobleman (then probably an Exile in *Switzerland*) who, in a short preface, speaks of it as “ first published in the year 1568, and being only in the Scottish dialect, had not been, that he knew of, communicated to other churches.” It is unaccountable that this nobleman should not know, that this very confession was in print several years before. That it had not been communicated to foreign Protestant churches is probable enough from the following circumstances. “ In the year 1567, the churches of *Geneva*, *Berne*, and *Basil*, with other reformed churches of *Germany*, and *France*, sent to the whole church of *Scotland* the sum of the confession of their faith, desiring to know, if they, the Scots, agreed in uniformity of doctrine, alledging, that the church of *Scotland* was dissonant in
 “ some

I am afraid this article will by no means *harm*-
nize with the Helvetic migration of holy souls to
 Christ, nor with *direct precipitation* of the wicked
 and unbelievers into hell. The happiness of the
 saints here mentioned, is all of the negative sort,
 and though positive torments and anguish are, in
 this Scottish confession, made the portion of the
 wicked, yet we find it all ends in this, that neither
 the one nor the other are so fast asleep, but that they
 are sensible of their condition. The hypothesis of
 the *Scots* seems to admit of an increase of happiness
 and misery after the resurrection; that of the *Hel-*
vetians will admit of none.

“some articles from them.” To this the church of *Scotland*
 with *Knox* at their head, answered, “that they agreed in all
 “points with those churches, and differed in nothing from
 “them, albeit in the keeping of some festival days, their
 “church assented not, for only the Sabbath was kept in *Scot-*
 “*land.*” p. 436. The ready way to convince these foreign
 churches of this agreement, had been, to send them an au-
 thentic copy of the Scottish confession, that they might judge
 for themselves. The Confession sent to *Scotland* on this oc-
 casion, was undoubtedly the second *Helvetic*, which, as is
 observed above, differed from the *Scottish* one in the article of
migration; tho’ possibly the *Scots* were not aware of it. These
 festival days, and some ceremonies had been abolished at *Ge-*
neva, and that model *Knox* adopted in *Scotland*. Afterwards,
 in 1538 the Festivals, &c. were restored at *Geneva*, by an Act
 of a Synod held at *Lausanne*. *Calvin* and *Farel* refused to
 submit to this restoration, and on account of that and some
 other scruples, were obliged to leave the city. See Bayle’s
Dia. CALVIN. Rem. [K]

C H A P. XI.

The Confession of the Remonstrants censured by the Calvinists for omitting to mention the immediate migration of good souls to Heaven. Ascribe this omission to Socinianism. Episcopius's sensible answer. Extremely provoking to the Calvinists, as recriminating upon their Master. The great Confusion of Protestant writers of those times on this subject. Accounted for by Lud. Capellus; who does not stand clear of confusion himself. An instance of it.

1612.  **A**ccordingly when, in the year 1612 the confession of the *Remonstrants* appeared, the *Calvinists* censured it, among other things, for omitting to mention, the happy immortality of souls in heaven, after this life, which, they say, is expressly delivered in their catechism; and for this omission, the *Remonstrants* are accused of *Socinianism* (m).

Episcopius defends himself and his brethren by observing, “ that the judgments of the greatest divines had formerly, and still did vary, concerning the state of departed souls; that the fathers seemed to be pretty well agreed, that no souls were admitted into paradise, till our Saviour by his death, opened the door and went in, with the penitent thief in his company: that though all the fathers, down to the end of the fourth cen-

(m) *Apologia pro Confessione Remonstrantium. cap. xix.*

“ tury,

“ tury, judged that the souls of the faithful were
 “ received into Paradise after our Lord had opened
 “ it, yet they were far from agreeing what or where
 “ this Paradise was. Some understood that it meant
 “ *Heaven*, others *Hades*, not the place of torment
 “ but a common receptacle where the souls of
 “ the good and bad were reserved till the last
 “ judgment, for which he cites *Lactantius* lib.
 “ vii. cap. 21.—The Greek fathers, he says, were
 “ unanimous in their opinion, that the souls of the
 “ saints did not enjoy the vision of God, nor were
 “ admitted into the fruition of glory, till the re-
 “ surrection; and that *Calvin* himself seems to have
 “ favoured this notion, both in his *Psychopannychia*
 “ and in his institutions *, and lastly, that the So-

* *Ludovicus Capellus* published a tract intituled, *De hominum post mortem statu usque ad ultimum judicii diem*, wherein he attempts to prove, against the received opinion, “ that the separate soul doth not go immediately to heaven or hell upon the death of the body, but remains in a state of expectation, which is a state of happiness or misery, according as the soul is conscious of the good or evil of its by-spent life, during its union with the body.” See a collection of his pieces in folio printed at *Amsterdam* 1689. In this tract, *Capellus* cites these passages of *Calvin*, mentioned by *Episcopius*, as agreeing with his opinion, but is obliged to add such comments and explanations to *Calvin*’s words as plainly shew the sentiments of that Reformer to have been by no means clear and precise upon the subject. *Calvin* indeed was far from being master of the question; and one may discover in his expressions a kind of perplexity, which was plainly suggested by the fear of giving advantages to his adversaries of different denominations.

cinians

“ *cinians* themselves acknowledge as much concern-
 “ ing the reception of souls into heaven, imme-
 “ diately after their departure from the body, as is
 “ expressed in the general words of their catechism,
 “ &c. (n).”

The *Calvinists*, I believe, must have been grievously provoked and mortified by this reply of *Episcopus*, the truth of which they could not deny. To shew that they went against the stream of the most orthodox fathers in their *catechism*, was bad enough. But that was a small matter in comparison of his putting it out of their power to fix *Socinianism* on the *Remonstrants*, without stigmatizing their venerable master with the same brand-mark.

The reader will not expect that I, who profess to consult his ease as well as my own, should take notice of a thousandth part of the various scribblings on the immortality of the soul, with which every subdivision of the period we have gone through was pestered, by papists, and protestants, by men of all sects and heresies, and even by Jews and Mahometans. It is but good manners to suppose, that they who presided in christian churches, and to whom the formation of public systems of doctrine was left, would select the *quintessence* of all the learning that had ever been employed in elucidating any particular subject. 'Tis our misfortune that they seem to have succeeded worse on the question before us than upon any other. I mean this of our protestant ancestors. For to what do all their determinations

(n) Apol. pro Confes. Remonst. 11. s.

amount,

amount, but to a confused jumble of inconsistent notions concerning an intermediate state, which while one set are labouring to prop by scripture hints and innuendos, in consequence of the old system of natural immortality, another are endeavouring to pull down, in order to keep out *purgatory*, by proving that the scriptures speak of *two states only*, heaven and hell.

It may probably be neither unentertaining nor unedifying to subjoin the account that *Capellus* gives of the original of this distress.

“Some,” says he, “perhaps may wonder, how
 “it has happened, if our opinion is the more probable, that both Protestant and Popish Divines
 “have agreed in that opinion which we oppose
 “(*viz.* that the souls of good men go immediately
 “to heaven): I answer, that both the one and the
 “other have departed from the primitive opinion of
 “the ancient fathers of the Christian Church, and
 “espoused this other, but with very different and
 “contrary views. The Papists, in order to support
 “their erroneous practice of invoking the saints,
 “thought it convenient, that the saints should be
 “stationed, before the resurrection, in the third
 “heaven, where the blessed enjoy the beatific vision of God, and where, in their fictitious mirror of the divine essence, they might behold all
 “things which are transacted upon earth: and that
 “being by this means nearer, and consequently
 “more like unto God, they might seem to be
 “properer objects of our prayers, vows and religious worship. It was therefore the spirit of superstition and idolatry, which drove the Papists
 “into

“into this opinion. But the Protestants, having
 “another Popish error to oppose, namely Pur-
 “gatory, and the proper satisfaction for sin there
 “to be made, which would have authorised the
 “Pope’s indulgencies; were afraid that, if they
 “should grant that there was a *third* place appoint-
 “ed for the souls of the pious and holy after this
 “mortal life, they might likewise be obliged to ad-
 “mit this fictitious Purgatory. And therefore
 “thought it safer absolutely to deny any middle
 “state, than to expose themselves to the tricks and
 “subtilties of the Papists in supporting their Pur-
 “gatory, by granting such third or middle state *.”

What *Capellus* proposed by this dissertation, was to help his brethren the Protestants, out of this difficulty, which he thought might be done by shewing “that a purgatory would not follow from the
 “concession of a middle state such as the primitive
 “fathers had represented it.” In this he succeeds well enough. But he had done much better service to the Protestant cause, and gained more honour to himself, had he shewn, as he might have done by the help of those very texts he employs, that there were no grounds for the notion of an intermediate consciousness of separate souls, either of the righteous or the wicked, between death and the resurrection. But by incumbering himself with this intermediate consciousness, without determining where or how the separate soul subsists, he has left the dispute just where he found it; and to confess the truth, has made strange work with some of

* From the tract above-mentioned, at the end.

those texts, which, in their plain, obvious meaning, neither favoured him nor his adversaries.

For example. Speaking to that text of St Paul 1 Cor. xv. 18. where the apostle says, *If Christ is not risen, then they who are fallen asleep in Christ are perished*, he comments upon it thus, *Pereunt, non quidem quoad $\tau\omicron$ esse, sed quoad $\tau\omicron$ bene esse; hoc est, quantum ad felicitatem [positam in lætâ beatæ resurrectionis futuræ expectatione, as he describes this felicity above] quæ sic prorsus evertitur, sublatâ resurrectione.* What idea can any one form of these *half-perished* souls? But what will not an eagerness to serve an hypothesis tempt a man to say?

C H A P. XII.

Antony de Dominis discusses the questions concerning the separate existence of the soul in his book *De Rep. Ecclesiastica*. His character in short by Fuller. Admits the point may be debated without danger to the faith or scandal to the church. States the question with candor. Urges the O. T. scriptures for the cessation of thought and consciousness after death, with great strength. Has nothing to set against them but apocryphal Esdras. The passages quoted from that writer examined. Proceeds to authorities in the N. T. Makes concessions which ruin his cause, both with respect to the Scriptures and Philosophy. His conclusions in favour of separate existence, futile and childish. Probably against his real sentiments. Was to manage K. James I. a strenuous *Dæmonologist*.

WE have led the reader a little out of the chronological line, by introducing Ludovicus Capellus. 1622.

pellus before his time; which however was in some sort necessary, to shew, what the motive was, that induced so many protestant writers to desert the scriptural road pointed out to them by *Luther* and *Tyndall*; and likewise the difficulties into which they were drawn by espousing *Calvin's* refinements, who, whatever he might pretend, was beholden to *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, &c. for the most plausible parts of his system, which abounds, even in his comments upon several texts of scripture, with that very Philosophy he would be thought to disclaim, and which is the corner stone of the purgatorial fabrick.

We now return into the former track, and are sorry we cannot introduce the reader to a more respectable fellow traveller than *Marc Antony de Dominis*, sometime Archbishop of *Spalato* or *Spalatro*, who, according to one of our Historians, “ had too much wit and learning to be a cordial papist, “ and too little honesty and religion to be a sincere “ protestant.” (o) However as he professes, that the discussion of this point would not interfere with any established article of faith, and consequently, that *nothing would be lost by speculating upon it* (a consideration, to which he, as well as some wits and scholars of more modern times, was more especially attentive) we may for the present avail our selves of his *wit* and *learning*, and give him credit for as much *honesty* and *religion*, as he can fairly lay claim to. (oo)

This

(o) *Fuller*, Church History. B. X. p. 100.

(oo) He seems however to have borrowed a little honesty of somebody who had it to spare, in the following just and liberal

This writer's particular business with this question seems to have been, to make way for the arguments he afterwards advances against a popish pur-

ral reflection, which is humbly recommended to the contemplation of some of our modern curators of orthodoxy.—“ Et
 “ quia quoad secundam et tertiam opinionem, nullus est fidei
 “ articulus plane definitus, liberior relinquitur ingeniis The-
 “ ologorum disputandi locus, citra schismatum et divisionum
 “ omne periculum. Res enim inter orthodoxos Theologos
 “ perniciosissima est, si Charitate abrupta, divisiones inter ip-
 “ sos fiant, ubi alii in diversam ab aliis abeunt sententiam. Si
 “ enim salvâ charitate, hoc non liceret, theologica scientia
 “ esset penitus destruenda, et theologicis contemplationibus
 “ esset ultimus finis imponendus, obstruendumque os omni-
 “ bus ut ne hîscere quidem auderent, præter ea quæ Theolo-
 “ gus aliquis non nisi ex probabilibus asseruit, et nunquam
 “ fuerunt tanquam de fide a quoquam recepta, aut ab ecclesia
 “ *sufficienter definita.*” De Repub. Ecclesiastica. Vol. ii. Lib.
 v. Cap. 8. P. 75. The words *non sufficienter definita*, might carry an inquisitive man a good deal farther than *Marc Anthony* intended. He could not but know, that the Florentine Canon contained a *definition sufficient* to muzzle the popish divines, of which indeed he did not acknowledge himself to be one. He considered his liberty, on this occasion, as arising from the expunction of the fortieth of King *Edward 6th*'s articles, in 1562. Some of our modern divines will needs have it, that the Church of England hath *sufficiently defined* her belief of the activity of the separate soul in some other parts of her established forms. But if the church is inconsistent with her self, that is her own fault. If the church espouses an article of faith in one place, which she hath expunged in another, I am at liberty to say, that she hath not *sufficiently defined* that article, but hath left me free to form my own judgment upon it. Things, about the time in question, were done in a hurry. Had there been time for it, no doubt but they who corrected the articles would have conformed the Liturgy and Homilies to those corrections.

E

gatory ;

gatory ; which purpose, the texts of Scripture he brings, and the sense he is inclined to put upon them, answer very effectually. But having a royal Dæmonologist upon his hands, it became his prudence to manage so, as to have *separate souls* in readiness for the several errands on which, conjurers, witches, and second-sighted discerners of Ghosts and apparitions, chose to employ them.

“ He informs us that there are three opinions concerning the state of souls after death ; two, which carry matters to extremity, and a third, which he calls the middle one. The first of these extremes is, that souls are in a profound sleep from the death of the body to the resurrection ; and in that state, have neither joy nor sorrow, enjoyment nor suffering, no understanding, no affection, nor any exercise of mental operation ; consequently, no consciousness.”

He distinguishes this opinion, however, from the *Arabian Heresy*, importing, “ That the soul died, perished, and was corrupted with the body, which it seems was confuted by *Origen*, and was then lately revived by certain crazy Anabaptists (p).”

By

(p) The Patrons of a separate existence have made a wonderful figure with this *Arabian Heresy*, and I suppose the reprobation of it by *Origen*, *Austin* and others, may have intimidated most of those who have held the sleep of the soul, from acknowledging any concern with it. There is however one exception of an honest man, who had no scruple to express himself thus. “ He mentions also the *Arabian Heresy* in the third century. And I grant that the account given by *Eusebius* of that Arabian tenet, agrees very well with my opinion before express’d. The region of *Arabia*, lies com-
“ passed

By the way, as our author hath acknowledged, that the *second* and *third* of these opinions were not established in any definitive article of faith, and that the *first* might, on that account, be freely discussed, it must be deemed an *innocent*, though an *erroneous* opinion. This, according to his judgment, was not the case of the *Arabian* Heresy, espoused by the mad Anabaptists. But where is the difference? or what is the partition that divides them? A soul deprived of all its essential functions, without sensibilities or affections of any kind, is as like a dead soul, at least as a cropp'd horse is like a horse with no ears. But as the author has not discovered in what he places the distinction between the

“ passed by *Chaldaea*, *Ægypt* and *Judæa*; and in that and
 “ future times, produced men of as much wit and knowledge
 “ as any other place we read of. Those who then opposed
 “ this their opinion, conscious perhaps that they could not
 “ maintain the contrary, called *Origen* out of *Ægypt* to their
 “ assistance, as a man most famed for learning in that time,
 “ but a full and resolved Platonist; and he so managed that
 “ Council, as therein the opinion of the soul's dying with the
 “ body, was judged to be an error, and branded with the
 “ term of *Heresy*, which seems not sufficient to convince my
 “ understanding, that it was so much as erroneous; because
 “ I read, divers other General Councils (as well as that)
 “ have been mistaken in their judgment and canons, on the
 “ like occasions. The reasons and scriptures which moved
 “ the *Arabians* of that time so to think, have never been
 “ quite forgotten or retracted since that time, and do rise up
 “ now as fresh as ever, for the maintenance and support of
 “ that *Arabian* tenet, which by *Origen's* assistance, was con-
 “ demned.” *Observations on Mr. Broughton's Psychologia*,
 Part. ii. p. 48. By Henry Layton, Esq.

innocent and the obnoxious opinion, we shall not inquire after it ; but go on with him.

The other *extreme* opinion he mentions is, that “ the soul, immediately after death, either obtains
“ complete felicity, and is crowned with eternal
“ glory, or is thrust down into Gehenna, and
“ is tormented with eternal punishments.” Here, he says, “ the Papists interpose their Purgatory, for
“ the use of a second sort of these good souls, serving them for a state of expiation, before they are
“ admitted to their final glory.” How he came to tack this to an *extreme* opinion one cannot easily guess. This, however, is all he says of it in this place.

The middle opinion, he tells us, is, “ that the souls
“ of the elect do indeed immediately pass into eternal
“ glory, and the enjoyment of it, but not fully and
“ completely, being in a state of expectation, waiting for the completion of their felicity after the
“ resurrection. In like manner, that the souls of the
“ wicked, are consigned to eternal punishment, immediately after the death of the body, which punishment however they do not feel completely,
“ and are only to have the full measure of it, after
“ the resurrection.”

How he moderates among these different opinions we shall see presently. I don't find however, that any of the Psychopannychists before him ventured to give this horrid picture of divine vengeance with respect to the intermediate state of wicked souls. *Calvin*, as we have seen, would only answer for the souls of the elect ; he saw the consequence of applying

plying his hypothesis to the case of the wicked, and most of his followers seem to have seen it as well as he. I do not think that *De Dominis* could cite any respectable authority for the latter part of this *middle* opinion. He seems however to have seen, that partial punishment in an intermediate state, was the unavoidable alternative of partial happiness, and that the one was the inevitable attendant upon the other.

With respect to the second and third of these opinions, it is to be observed, that most of the Fathers, upon whose authority our author chiefly regulates his conclusions, agree to condemn the notion of any beatific vision or glorification of the good, or real positive torments of the wicked, before the general judgment, as *heretical*; and, on that account, provide several Limbos for patriarchs, prophets, infants, &c. as places of rest and inactivity for departed souls, till the appointed time of redemption. These two opinions lay no difficulties in our author's way.

But though he calls the first *extreme*, or the sleeping hypothesis, an *intolerable* opinion, it is plain, it is that which creates his chief embarrassment, as being countenanced by the greatest number, and the most express texts of scripture, which, to do him justice, he is not backward to exhibit. And having produced those remarkable passages of *David*, *Solomon*, *Hezekiah*, and *Job*, which imply a total suspension of thought, understanding, activity, and consciousness after death, he freely confesses, that, *they speak as if the soul was mortal*.

Unwilling, however, to leave these portions of scripture in possession of their plain meaning, or to trust for a diminution of their force, to the qualification of a naked metaphysical hypothesis, he casts about for an Old Testament interpreter, whom he finds in the second book of Apocryphal Esdras. “He acknowledges indeed that these books are not “canonical; nor, except for the purpose of *con-* “*firming* doctrines, are of any authority; but as “they are of great antiquity, they give an air of “probability to things, [*suam dant rebus probabili-* “*tatem*] and sufficiently discover what was, in those “days, the tradition of the church.”

And what says this Esdras? Why, “he speaks of “certain *promptuaria animarum*, not only of the Fa- “thers before Christ, but also after Christ: for he “affirms that these *promptuaria* or repositories shall “give up the souls that are in them.” Chap. iv. 41, 42. vii. 32.

But Esdras in these passages makes no distinction between the souls of the Fathers, and the souls of other men. The *giving up*, is general in both passages; particularly in the latter, where the *earth* and the *dust* are represented, as well as these *promptuaria*, as delivering what was committed to them. Without this imaginary restriction of these *promptuaria* to the use assigned by the Fathers, *Esdras* is as unfavourable to our author’s hypothesis, as *David* and *Solomon* (q).

Our

(q) As these *promptuaria* are mentioned more than once and on different accounts, and as this fictitious *Esdras* is by some honoured with the title of Prophet, it may be expected

we

Our author having thus settled matters to his satisfaction with respect to the writers of the Old Testament, proceeds to consider what may be learned from those of the New.

And

we should give these passages a particular consideration. Chap. IV. v. 35. is thus exhibited in the old Latin. *Nonne de his interrogaverunt animæ justorum in promptuariis suis, dicentes, usque quo. &c. Castellio*, who polished this book with his critical style, gives it, *animæ justorum in penetralibus suis*. But *Junius*, who came after him, turns it, *justi ipsi in suis cellis*, and adds in the margin the following note. *Hunc locum ita reddidimus, quia Hebraismus ita fuit reddendus, animæ justorum, pro justis ipsis. Nam de piorum cum viverent expostulatione hic agi, evincit ipsa expostulationis forma. Cellas autem eorum sic dicit, ut conclavia dixerat Jeschaiah. xxvi. 20, quem locum hic non dubitamus respici; sic infra V. 9.* And thus likewise the Editors of the *Paris Bible* of 1564 appear to have understood it, referring to *Jeremiah* xii. 1. where we find the Prophet exhorting in much the same strain. The learned *Daubuz* and others, refer to this passage as parallel to *Apocal.* iv. 10, where we have the exhortation of the *souls under the altar*. But to whatever this passage is an *allusion*, we learn no more from it, than we do from the passages *alluded to* in our canonical scriptures. At verse 41. of the same chapter, the vulgate runs thus. *In inferno promptuaria animarum, matrici assimilata sunt; quemadmodum enim illa festinat quæ parit effugere necessitatem partus, sic et hæc festinat [festinant] reddere ea quæ commendata sunt.* Here *Junius*, instead of *promptuaria animarum*, gives it, *cellæ mortuorum*; upon what grounds we shall see presently, Chap. V. 9. we have in the old latin, *Et abscondetur tunc sensus, et intellectus separabitur in promptuarium suum, et quæretur a multis, et non invenietur.* For *promptuarium*, *Castellio* has, *penetræle*, and the rest as the old latin. But *Junius* gives it, *Et tunc latebit prudens, et intelligens separatus manebit, tan-*

And here he allows that when our Lord brought the expression, *I am the God of Abraham, &c.* to prove the resurrection of the dead, He did not consider God, as the God of *Abraham's* soul, but as the

quam in cella sua conditus. The sense is much the same either way, and the writer only meant that when wickedness and impiety are exalted, *wise* and *understanding* men, or *wisdom* and *understanding* are in obscurity [see Dan. xii. 10. Prov. xxviii. 12, 28] nor does *promptuarium* signify any thing here, but a place of retirement.—Chap. vii. 32, we find in the vulgate, *Et terra reddet quæ in ea dormiunt, et pulvis qui in eo silentio habitant, et promptuaria reddent quæ eis commendate sunt animæ.* For which *Castellio* has, *Et cellæ depositas apud se reddent animas.* But *Junius*, more roundly, *Et cellis reddentibus cadavera quæ sibi fuerint commendata;* in which he was undoubtedly in the right. In the English translation of this book from the Arabic, communicated to the public by the learned Professor *Ockley*, this last cited verse is thus rendered. *And the earth shall cast forth those which slept in it, which I committed to it to keep, and the secret repositories shall restore the souls that are in them.* The other texts are not in the Arabic. Upon these passages, Mr. *Arnold* hath the following observation. “Chap. iv. verse 35, 41. mention is
“made of souls departed *in a state of grace*, being kept in
“chambers, or secret store-houses till the day of judgment,
“agreeably enough to *Apoc.* iv. 9. 10. which has been ob-
“jected to, as seemingly countenancing the doctrine of pur-
“gatory, and it must be confessed the Catholics have so ap-
“plied it; but without reason, as nothing therein is said, or
“intimated of their being detained there by way of punish-
“ment, or to be purified by it.” How should there, if this 35th verse is paralel to *Apoc.* iv. 9. where the expostulation is ascribed to the souls of martyrs, with which, above all others, Purgatory is never understood to have any thing to do? nor do I know that any Catholics have so applied the passage, the whole book being uncanonical even among them.
On

the God of *Abraham* the compound man. And acknowledges, that if our Saviour had rested his proof on the separate existence of *Abraham's* soul, his argument would have fallen short of the point to be proved,

On the other hand, verse 41 has nothing in it to lead us to suppose, that these chambers or repositories are allotted to souls *in a state of grace*, exclusive of others. The very similitude taken from *Childbirth*, shews that these chambers comprehend the souls of all, good and bad, which shall be given up as necessarily as the human *fœtus* is brought into the world from its *promptuarium*, the womb. What seems to have misled Mr. *Arnold* and others in this matter is the expression, *reddere ea quæ commendata sunt*. But where is there any intimation in the book, that these supposed souls are more especially committed or commended to these repositories, than the bodies of all men are committed or commended to the earth? On the contrary, the variety of expression, *Chap. vii. 32*, which denotes the future restoration of the dead, shews that the word *commendata* relates equally to those who sleep in the earth, and who dwell in the dust in silence, as to the *animæ in promptuariis*. So the Arabian translator understood the matter, and accordingly gives it, as we have seen, *The earth shall cast forth those which slept in it, which I committed to it to keep, &c.* And *Junius*, perceiving that the whole verse was only descriptive of death and the grave, or of the general state of the dead, and their universal restoration, very sensibly and properly renders the last part, *Et cellis reddentibus cadavera quæ sibi fuerint commendata*, knowing that the last clause is equally applicable to the several periphrases by which the general state of the dead is signified. I have said nothing of the authority of this book. They who think it makes for the doctrine of a conscious intermediate state may find the arguments for its authenticity at full length in *Whiston's Essay on the Apostolical Constitutions*. pp. 38. and 137. Edit. 1712. Sir *John Floyer's* Preface to, *The Prophecies of the second Book of ESDRAS, explained and vindicated*. Edit. 1721.

proved, viz. *the Resurrection of the dead*, or, as he there hath it, *of the body*. And the reason he gives is, that “ God would not be called the God of a
 “ *naked soul*, because the soul without the body is
 “ but in an imperfect state, and not capable of that
 “ happiness which is intended for the human indi-

1721. But more particularly in Dr. *Francis Lee's* ΑΠΟ-
 ΑΕΙΠΙΟΜΕΝΑ, where there is a long and curious Dissertation
 on this book and its contents. The book, though allowed to
 be interpolated and otherwise corrupted, has had great re-
 spect paid to it by many learned men. Dr. *Hickes* seems not
 to have been pleased with Bishop *Bull* for not making use of
 its testimonies in his sermon on the middle state. [See his Let-
 ter in Mr. *Nelson's* Life of that Prelate. p. 535.] I have in
 my possession a Manuscript of a very learned man who is of
 opinion, that the Apostle *Paul* borrowed what he says of the
 introduction of sin into the world by Adam, and the *labes*
 left thereby upon his posterity, from this book of *Esdra*s.
Scaliger said, he had an admirable and divine compendium of
 this book in the Syriac tongue [See Sir *John Floyer's* Epistle
 to the Reader. p. iv.] “ From a number of paralel pas-
 “ sages to those in the New Testament,” says Mr. *Arnold*,
 “ it seems necessary to conclude, either that Jesus Christ
 “ and his apostles copied from hence, or that this writer co-
 “ pied largely from the other.” But why might not all co-
 py from one and the same original? *ESDRÆ quartus*, says
Scaliger, *est coacervatus ex multis veterum scriptis*. And why
 might not *Jesus* and *Paul* have access to these, as well as the
*Pseudo-Esdra*s? I call him so after *Junius*, who has proved
 him to be such, by his blundering account of the genealogy
 of the true *Esdra*s, and who justly observes, that his credit is
 but small, till supported by some better authority than his
 own. But there is no occasion to enter deeply into this dis-
 quisation. It appears, that what he says of the *promptuaria*
 of departed souls, relates only to the common repositories of
 the Dead of all characters.

“ *viduum*

“*viduum* after the reunion of soul and body.” This happiness he calls *the fruition of God*: and he supposes that the naked soul, being incapable of that fruition, must lie wherever it is, without any operation, that is indeed without any consciousness or sensibility.

He goes on next to St *Paul*, who, he says, seems plainly to suppose that the souls of dead men sleep till the resurrection; and to shew this, he gives a comment upon 1 Cor. xv. 19. which makes it utterly incredible to any one who agrees to his interpretation, that the apostle should ever have supposed any thing else. He likewise urges other passages to the same purpose, and lastly observes that none of the persons who are said in the Gospel History to have been raised from the dead, ever made mention of what happened to themselves or others, or what was the state of souls after death; from whence he says, some people may be apt to conclude, that whilst they were out of the body, they neither observed nor understood any thing.

“By these and the like proofs,” he tells us, “some of the holy Fathers were induced to believe, that the souls of men were shut up in certain receptacles or store-houses [*promptuariis*] expecting the resurrection, neither doing nor suffering any thing in the mean time. Some of them supposing that the souls of good men, patriarchs, prophets, &c. were somewhere under the earth expecting the advent of Christ: others holding that the souls of all men, good and bad, were in the same

“ same state, without either punishment or glory.” For which opinions he cites *Irenæus* and *Chrysostom* respectively.

Having thus done with the scriptures, he betakes himself to philosophy, and speaks of the necessity of bodily organs to thought and memory, and says, that as the soul of an infant is a mere *rasa tabula* wherein nothing is written or engraved, so is the same soul, when it is departed out of the body, reduced to the same state of a mere blank: that is to say, without consciousness, thought, or intellectual furniture of any kind.

Now when it is understood that all this while this writer is only stating objections which he proposed to answer, the reader who interests himself in disquisitions of this sort, must be curious to know, how he gets rid of so strong a state of the case as he hath here given us on the side of his opponents. Having then acknowledged, that it is very difficult to destroy the foundations of this opinion (the sleep of the soul), *tamen*, says he, *solvenda sunt, quia veritas in contrarium omni objectâ dubitatione, penitus vincit hominem fidelem et Catholicum. Scripturæ porro, veritatem hanc aperientes, plures sunt.* These scriptures he goes on to produce; and to those texts which appear to countenance the sleep of the soul, he opposes *Phil. i. 23.* containing St Paul's desire to be with Christ as *far better* than to *abide in the flesh*, and some others, supposed by him to prove a separate and active existence of the soul, at the same time that he affirms, the scriptures never speak of the soul and body as separate from each other, but

as in union, making up the person. *Non corpus humanum, fays he, proprie refurgit, fed homo, fed individuum, fed persona, et aliud eft a corruptione separari, aliud refurgere,—cui refurrectioni eft per accidens quod partes reuniendæ manerent, vel non manerent. Quod igitur ait David, et Ezekias, et Sapiens de mortuis, eos non laudare Dominum, fed vivos, &c. intelligenda funt de hominibus in eorum personis. Verum enim eft, hominem mortuum ante refurrectionem, omnino in fuâ personâ non efle, et confequenter, neque poffe, in fuâ personâ, poft mortem laudare Deum ante refurrectionem, aut quicquam facere.*

The faving diftinction here is, *aliud eft a corruptione separari, aliud refurgere.* But how comes it that the facred writers do not mark this diftinction? Whence is it that they take no notice of any thing *separated from corruption* at the death of the body? Is it fufficient for the folution of the difficulty to fay, as this author does, *Sed anima feorfim interim viva eft PRO SUO MODULO*, upon no other proof but a metaphyfical hypothesis, fupported by the arbitrary notions of *Juftin Martyr, Origen, Chryfoftom, and Auguftin*, concerning the feveral limbos where thefe unembodied, unemployed, fhapelefs beings, thefe blank ingredients of the human compofition are deposited, till the period of their reunion. Upon this view of the intermediate ftate, the *modulus* of the feparate foul of man, is not at all more confiderable than the *modulus* of the foul of a plant, which, for ought we know, may have its modulus of life to ferve the purpofes, if not of re-union

union to its identical body, yet possibly, of transmigration into some other (*r*).

Such were then, and such ever will be the efforts of those, who *must* solve all difficulties merely to accommodate the *faithful* and the *catholic* with an ortho-

(*r*) “ The Creator, in the opinion of these [*Hermetic*] “ Philosophers, has fixed in every thing a seed for its multipli- “ cation, not excepting metals themselves ; and that in this “ seed, lies concealed a small spark which *animates* and *di-* “ *rects* the seed to form only the particular kind of being pe- “ culiar to its own species. This little spark of life or anima- “ tion, assigned by nature, is the more firm or permanent, as “ the life of the being is required to be more constant ; and “ therefore every thing which is produced out of the seed is “ to be assigned chiefly to the *aura*, or animating spark there- “ of.” *Hermippus Redivivus*. p. 220. Nor will this appear to be so very extravagant an hypothesis, when we consider the surprizing exhibitions of nature in vegetables. “ Wherever,” says the learned Professor *Watson*, “ there is a vascular sys- “ tem, containing a moving nutritive succus, there is life ; “ and wherever there is life there may be, for ought we can “ prove to the contrary, a more or less acute perception, a “ greater or less capacity for the reception of happiness ; the “ quantity indeed of which, after we have descended below a “ certain degree of sensibility, will, (according to our method “ of estimating things, which is ever partial and relative to our “ selves) be small in each individual.—It should be well “ weighed by the Metaphysicians, whether they can exclude “ vegetables from the possession of the faculty of perception, “ by any other than comparative arguments ; and whether “ the same kind of comparative reasoning will not equally ex- “ clude from animality, those animals which are provided “ with the fewest and the obtusest senses, when compared “ with such as are furnished with the most and the acuteest.” *Essay on the subjects of Chemistry*. p. 18, 19. And see what follows in this masterly tract.

dox creed. It is easy enough to see what were the real sentiments of this *ex-bishop* of *Spalato*. But something was to be granted on the part of the *Psychopannychists* to serve the purposes of the wizards and conjurers of those days, otherwise the sagacious monarch, by whose bounty he profited so much, might have taken it into his head to have burnt *De Dominis* for an heretic at one stake, while the witches and their imps were frying at another.

C H A P. XIII.

Brevis Disquisitio, a work of Joachim Stegman.

The occasion and scope of it. In Bayle's opinion, did more harm than good. A passage from the eighth chapter of it. Misrepresents Luther. But right in the general reasoning. An argument of Cardinal Perron for praying to saints. The premisses not controverted by all Protestants of these times. And strenuously contended for by the late Dr Watts. Another passage from Stegman's eighth chapter. Censured by Bp. Warburton, without reason. Who misunderstands Grotius and Episcopius in his turn. And cenjures Le Clerc undeservedly.

BUT as the Papists were steady to their interest, 1628. and, for the most part, uniform in the support of a point upon which so much of it depended, they had a great advantage against the Protestants who were divided, not only upon this, but upon other subjects.

Among others who attacked them upon the score of their divisions, was a capuchin friar, called *Valerian*

rian Magni, who in the year 1628 published a book at Prague, intituled, *De A catholicorum regula credendi* (s).

This book was answered by Joachim Stegman, a Socinian divine, in a tract intituled, *Brevis Disquisitio, an et quomodo vulgo dicti evangelici pontificios, ac nominatim Valeriani Magni de A catholicorum credendi regulâ judicium solide atque evidenter refutare queant* (t).

The scope of Stegman's work is to shew, that the Protestants, by adhering to the peculiar system of Luther, Brentius, Calvin, Beza, &c. &c. had, in many instances, offered weak and improper arguments against Popery, which had laid them under needless difficulties. His advice is therefore to discard all human authority, and stick to the scripture only, as explained and understood by right reason, without having any regard to tradition, or the authority of Fathers, Councils, &c.

Mr. Bayle says this book did more hurt than good, not because it was not well written, but because it tended to disparage the reputation of the first Reformers, broke in upon their several systems, and what was worse than all the rest, was manifestly the work of somebody tainted with the heresies of Socinus and Arminius (u).

In

(s) Bayle's Dict. Vol. 5th, p. 741. Edit. 1738. and Desmarteaux Life of Hales, p. 4. 5.

(t) There is an English translation of this book in the *Phoenix*, vol. 2.

(u) For a sample of the opinions of the orthodox concerning this book, take the following account of it in a letter from

In the eighth chapter of this tract the author observes, “ that *Luther* and *Calvin* teach such things, “ as are injuriously defended, not only against the “ Papists, but also against the very life of the Chri- “ stian religion, true piety. Of the former sort is “ that opinion wherein they hold that the dead live. “ For they suppose, that the souls of men, in that “ very moment wherein they are parted from their “ bodies by death, are carried either to heaven, and “ do there feel heavenly joy, and possess all kinds “ of happiness which God hath promised to his “ people; or to hell, and are there tormented and

from Dr. *Samuel Ward* to Archbishop *Usher*. “ There is a “ little book, intituled *Brevis Disquisitio*, which, I suppose, “ your Lordship hath seen. It containeth in it sundry, “ both *Socinian* and *Pelagian* points; as also that the body “ which shall be raised in the resurrection, is not *idem nu-* “ *mero*; also souls do not live till the resurrection, besides “ sundry other points. It is printed *Eleutheropoli*. It is said “ it cometh out of *Eaton-College*, and that *Alesius* [*John* “ *Hales*] should be the author, who was at *Dort* with us. I “ am sorry such a book should come thence.” *Parr’s Life of* “ *Usher*, p. 473. —Such is the illiberal voice of established sys- “ tem. Could more seasonable or wholesome advice be given to “ Protestants? Was not this the very method afterwards adop- “ ted by our incomparable *Chillingworth*? Did not the Papists “ feel the effects of it from his able hand with the utmost regret. “ It is a *new shift*, says the absurd *Cressy*, which, how far “ other Protestants out of *England* will approve, I know not.” “ Whether they approved it or not, is very immaterial. What- “ ever may become of *their* methods, *Chillingworth’s* method “ will remain an impregnable bulwark, not only against that “ wicked and sordid superstition, but against all attempts to “ overthrow *Christian Liberty*, from any other quarter, as long “ as his book shall last.

“ excruciated with unquenchable fire. And this
 “ they attribute to the mere souls separated from
 “ the bodies, even before the resurrection of the
 “ men themselves, that is to say, while they are
 “ yet dead.—Now this is the foundation, not only
 “ of Purgatory, but also of that horrible idolatry
 “ practised among the Papists, while they invoke
 “ the saints that are dead (x).”

Stegman,

(x) *Phœnix* vol. ii. p. 334. Not having the original Latin, I am obliged to make use of the bad translation in this collection, The *Disquisitio* is here ascribed to *Hales* of *Eton*: concerning which mistake, see *Desmaizeaux*, Hist. & Crit. Account of his life, p. 4. &c. *Stegman* says, “ Nor need we
 “ go far for an example” (*viz.* that the scripture teaches contrary to the current doctrine) “ since we have a pregnant one
 “ in the argument of Christ, wherein he proveth the future
 “ resurrection of the dead from thence, that God is the God
 “ of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, but is not the God of the
 “ dead, but of the living: whence he concludeth, that they
 “ live to God, that is, shall be recalled to life by God, that
 “ he may manifest himself to be their God, or benefactor.
 “ This argument would be altogether fallacious, if *before* the
 “ resurrection they felt heavenly joy; for then he would be
 “ their God or benefactor, namely according to their souls,
 “ although their bodies should never rise again.” The right
 reverend author of the Divine Legation of MOSES, &c. says, “ this is a mere complication of mistakes,” that is to say, it contradicts *his* interpretation of this argument of our Saviour, by which, he supposes, our Lord intended to prove the resurrection of the dead, through the *medium* of a separate existence of the soul; no such medium however is to be found in the argument. But least it should appear to be a mere *gratis dictum*, the R. R. interpreter appeals to the wise and excellent HUGO GROTIUS, who says, our Saviour confuted the Sadducees on this occasion, *non verbis directis, sed*

Stegman, whatever inferences he might draw from *Calvin's* principles, certainly misrepresents *Luther*, as will be seen in the *Appendix*. He is however quite right in saying, that if the system above recited

sed ratiocinando; whence, the R. R. author infers, that *Grotius* agrees with him, that our Lord here made use of an *indirect* argument. Whereas *Grotius* only meant (as appears by the context) that our Lord did not alledge any plain and express words out of the Law of Moses, containing a promise or assurance of eternal life, but only *reasoned* with the Sadducees upon a passage which implied it. Shall we say that the R. R. author did not understand the *wise* and *excellent* HUGO GROTIUS? or rather that he did not chuse his readers should be made acquainted with the whole of *Grotius's* *Wisdom* and *Excellence*? For *Grotius* immediately adds, *quam ea ratiocinatio mihi videtur esse apertior quam multis putatur. Nam resurrectionis questionem ab immortalitate, Sacrae Literae non divellunt. Imo idem valent ἀναστασις [resurrectio] et ζων αἰώνιος [vita eterna] ipso Christo docente. Epist. 130.* Therefore, the sacred scriptures do not, in the opinion of *Grotius*, make use of the immortality of the soul, through which, as a *distinct proposition*, or, if you please, as a *medium*, to prove the resurrection of the dead. For the rest, *Grotius* concludes from our Saviour's argument exactly as *Stegman* does. *Therefore, they, [these Patriarchs] will be restored to life, that God may be emphatically and peculiarly their God. Grot. in loc.* As for the R. R. author's citation from *Episcopus*, it is very clear from the passage of *Grotius's* Epistle above quoted, compared with it, that these two learned men had very different ideas of our Saviour's argument. *Grotius*, we find, thought our Saviour's reasoning *plainer* and *more obvious* than *Episcopus* supposed it to be, who will have the conclusion to depend upon *our Lord's intimate knowledge of the divine intention, hidden under those general words, I am the God, &c.* than which nothing could be more obscure to his hearers, supposing them, as *Episcopus* does, to have no notion of eter-

ted is admitted, you cannot easily overthrow the invocation of Saints.

Cardinal *du Perron*, for example, argues thus. “It is certain that the devils themselves know all things that pass in our imagination, as all these things are thoughts. For the maxim of *St. Austin* is undubitable, *oportet intelligentem speculari phantasmata* (y) : which being so, there is no room to doubt, but that angels and happy spirits, clearly understand and know the prayers, even the mental ones, of those who call upon them.—If the dæmons hear the prayers of those who call them up, how is it that the saints are believed to be deaf to the prayers of those who invoke them ? (z).”

Against this reasoning it would be in vain to argue, as the Protestants did in their confessions, and elsewhere, “that if the saints heard the prayers of their votaries, they must be omnipotent.” There was hardly a protestant among them, that in

nal life in a future state ; which, whatever it might be in the days of *Moses*, was certainly not the case at the time this argument was urged to them. The *complication of mistakes* (which however the R. R. author does not venture to *unfold*) is not therefore in the *Brevis Disquisitio*, but in the *Divine Legation of Moses demonstrated*. The R. R. author is not at all more happy in his censure of *Le Clerc*, who is in exact agreement with *Grotius* in his interpretation of this text. See, A *Review of some Passages in the Divine Legation of Moses demonstrated*. Ed. 1758, p. 35—50.

(y) *Austin* had the maxim from *Aristotle*. Vid. *Pomponat*. Chap. iii. Νοουντα δει φαντασμαλα θεωρειν.

(z) PERRONIANA au motte DIABLES.

those

those days, would venture to deny the indubitable maxim of St *Austin*, and having once placed the saints in heaven, nothing would disparage them so much as to suppose they had not as much spiritual intelligence as the Devils.

But what do we talk of *those days*? A divine of our own times, of no small reputation, has not only granted the premises, but left as much room for the consequences, as the Papists themselves could desire. “He says, that separate spirits become conscious of one another’s thoughts and volitions, by some unknown way that God has appointed; — and that doubtless, there is a way, which God, the creator spirit, has ordained, whereby created spirits, which are social beings, shall maintain society and friendly communion with other created spirits, when they are in their native state, separate from their material engines (a).” And then, if to this we add another of his positions, “that the soul acts separately from the body, even whilst the body is alive,” it may as certainly have communication with its kindred disembodied spirits, and in the same unknown way, as those disembodied spirits have communication and society one with another; and this being admitted, what is there to hinder Cardinal *Perron*’s conclusion from taking immediate effect? Or what occasion to ascribe omnipotence and omniscience to this spiritual society, seeing the creator spirit confers upon them knowledge and capacity enough, in Dr *Watts*’s way,

(a) *Watts*’s Philosophical Essays, 8vo. 1733. p. 176.

to qualify them for intercessors, and to keep open the communication, by a chain of intelligence from embodied spirits to disembodied, from those to angels, &c.

C H A P. XIV.

The system of Des Cartes. Explodes the doctrine of Substantial Forms. Controverted by Gassendus. Des Cartes's hypothesis stigmatised in the Roman Index. Whilst Gassendus remains uncensured. Mr Arnauld's complaints thereupon. Arnauld's and Bayle's supposition concerning Des Cartes's doctrine. Examined and refuted.

1640.
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DR *Watts's* theory is that of *Des Cartes*, which he adopts in order to confute Mr *Locke's* principle, that the soul does not always think. And as the French philosopher comes next under our notice in order of time, we shall now take a short view of his operations and success.

Des Cartes's aim was to confute the doctrine of *substantial forms*, which imported, “that natural bodies are made up of two substances, matter, and form. That the form of all natural bodies, man only excepted, is a corruptible being, which never fails to be destroyed when the compound perishes, that is, whenever a stone, or a tree, or a dog, are converted into natural bodies of another species (b).”

To shew how man came to be excepted out of this general law of nature, was the business of the

(b) *Bayle* POMPONATIUS. [F.]

schoolmen,

schoolmen, who however did not give universal satisfaction to some philosophers prior to *Des Cartes*.

It was observed, that they who followed this system, could give no proofs of the immortality of the soul; for in order to that, they should make it appear that the soul is immaterial; which the very notion of its being the substantial or essential form of a material body, would not admit of.

The scholastic hypothesis indeed, was thus effectually overthrown, but the church could not spare the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, or its conscious existence in a separate state, and they who had sense enough to demolish the hypothesis of *Aristotle* and *Aquinas*, never attempted to find out another that would answer the same purpose.

This honour was reserved for *Des Cartes*, whose *meditations* appeared in the year 1640. The sum of his system is, “that all thinking substances are distinct from matter, from whence it necessarily follows, that the soul of man is a spirit, or a simple indivisible being, and consequently immortal.” Hence it followed again, that a substantial form, being co-extended with the body to which it belonged, and consequently *divisible*, must be incapable of thinking.

This doctrine of *Des Cartes* was immediately controverted by the great *Gassendi*, who maintained, that “though it should be granted, that mind and body may be conceived apart, it would not follow that they are two distinct substances, and,” he says, “*Des Cartes* neither has proved, nor can

“ plement to the church) that thought and exten-
 “ sion may not go together, constituting one being
 “ or *compositum*, and that all *Des Cartes*’s pretended
 “ demonstrations, are mere affirmations, and *peti-*
 “ *tiones principii*. He derides the notion of an un-
 “ extended substance, receiving extended images,
 “ and being itself spread through, commixed, or
 “ united with the body, acting on, and feeling
 “ from each part, and being either *totum in toto* or
 “ *totum in qualibet parte*, &c. &c. (c).”

It was to little purpose that *Gassendi* paid this complement to the church, namely to grant the existence of the soul in a separate state, if, as Mr. *Arnauld* affirmed, the reading of *Gassendi*’s book led some persons at *Naples* into the error of *Epicurus*, concerning the mortality of the soul. And as *Arnauld* himself was a zealous *Cartesian*, no doubt but he was persuaded that *Gassendi*’s reasoning had this impious tendency.

The church, however, to which these gentlemen belonged, thought very differently from Mr. *Arnauld*. The inquisitors of Rome put *Des Cartes*’s book into their *Index expurgatorius*, but did not at all concern themselves with that of *Gassendi*; which provoked *Arnauld* to exclaim, “ Is not this to per-
 “ mit men to swallow poison, and prohibit them
 “ from taking the antidote (d)?”

“ No,” would the inquisitors have replied, “ you
 “ quite mistake the matter, the poison is in the
 “ book of *Des Cartes*. His demonstrations have a

(c) *Gassend. opusc. philosoph. Tom. iii.*

(d) *Bayle. POMPONATIUS, rem. [G.]*

“ tendency to set aside the most solemn decisions of
 “ the church (e). An immaterial substance can suf-
 “ fer nothing in *our* purgatory. We desire to stick
 “ to *substantial forms*. And we give you fair warn-
 “ ing, that whatever philosophical system most fa-
 “ vours the peculiar doctrines of the church, will
 “ always have the greatest merit with us, whatever
 “ reason, truth, or good sense there may be in that
 “ which opposes it.”—Was not Mr. *Arnauld* aware
 of this? or did he dissemble his knowledge of it?

Mr. *Arnauld* supposes, that if *Gassendi* and others
 would not have opposed *Des Cartes*’s system, but
 have left it to its natural operation, it might have
 been of infinite service in convincing the most incre-
 dulous, that nothing can be more contrary to rea-
 son, than to assert, that the soul perishes with the
 body. “ This,” says *Arnauld*, “ *Des Cartes* made
 “ appear by laying down from clear principles, and
 “ such as are only grounded on natural notions,
 “ which men of sense cannot but acknowledge,
 “ that the soul and the body, that is, what thinks,
 “ and what is extended, are two substances wholly
 “ distinct; so that it is impossible that extension
 “ should be the mode of a thinking substance, and
 “ thought the mode of an extended one. This be-
 “ ing well proved, (as it is in *Des Cartes*’s medita-

(e) *Des Cartes*’s principles were demonstrated to be contra-
 ry to the doctrine of the church of *Rome* in the article of
 Transubstantiation, in a book published at *Paris*, 1680. See
 Mr. *Bayle*’s Letters. Let. xxxi. Edit. *Amsterdam* 1729. See
 also *Journal des Scavans* for *February*, 1666. pag. 250. *Am-*
sterdam, 1679.

“ tions) no libertine, if he has any justness of
 “ thought can remain convinced, that the soul dies
 “ with the body.”

“ This passage of Mr. *Arnauld*,” says *Bayle*,
 “ shews what advantage may accrue to religion
 “ from the hypothesis opposed by *Pomponatius* (f).
 “ It may be made use of against some libertines,
 “ who will see before they believe, and who despise
 “ the obscure arguments alledged by divines. No-
 “ thing can more effectually reclaim these men,
 “ than to convince them of the immortality of the
 “ soul. It is an inlet to the right way, and this
 “ first step may be attended with happy conse-
 “ quences.”

I beg these gentlemen's pardon ; they are quite mistaken. The supposition is ill *grounded*, and is confuted by the matter of fact every day. The more any man is convinced of the immortality of the soul, from the principles of *Aristotle* or *Des Cartes*, the less will he concern himself about the truth or falsehood of the gospel-account of futurity. The conscious existence of the soul after its departure from the body, and its capability of happiness and misery in a state of separation, is an obvious and known prejudice against the doctrine of a resur-

(f) The hypothesis opposed by *Pomponatius*, and the hypothesis of *Des Cartes*, went upon very different principles, as *Mr. Bayle* very well knew. They were however so far the same, as that both pretended to demonstrate the separate existence of the soul upon metaphysical principles ; and that is what *Mr. Bayle* means. An hypothesis which does not want the aid of revelation.

rection

rection of the dead. For to what end is a resurrection, if rewards and punishments may be dispensed without it?

Arnauld, who was a warm disputant, might not be aware of this consequence. But Mr. *Bayle*, if he was in earnest, is absolutely inexcusable in making such a reflection; inasmuch as by admitting elsewhere, “that, with respect to the proof of a future state, the *dernier resort* is to revelation, “when the proof from reason and philosophy fails,” he must admit that the one sort of proof, is totally distinct from, and incompatible with the other. If the principles of reason and philosophy proceed to demonstration, how can it be conceived these principles should be an inlet to a sort of proof which throws reason and philosophy quite out of the question? Are there any principles of reason and philosophy by which it may be demonstrated that the dead shall be raised? He supposes a certain sort of men would not believe the immortality of the soul, except it could be made plain to them by the principles of reason and philosophy. Why so? “Because,” says he, “the arguments of divines are “obscure.” Do then the proofs from philosophy make these arguments clear and perspicuous? By no means. These arguments are of the same weight and force, whether *Aristotle*, *Aquinas*, and *Des Cartes* are right or wrong. The arguments of divines, i.e. arguments founded on scripture for the immortality of man, are so far from borrowing any aid from reason and philosophy, that they refer

refer to the *power* and *will* of God, exemplified in a matter of fact, the resurrection of Jesus, which reason and philosophy can neither explain nor account for. If the promises of God may be depended upon, and if he is able to perform them, men may, and certainly will be raised from the dead at the appointed time, whether the soul has or has not enjoyed its consciousness from the period of death, to that of the resurrection. But on the other hand, if it may be demonstrated by philosophical principles, that there is one part of man, which never dies, and which may be delighted or afflicted, rewarded or punished, by the means of its own peculiar feelings or sensations, in a state of separation from the other part, it is hardly credible that God should restore that other part to life, to accomplish a purpose which may be brought about without it.

C H A P. XV.

A Tract intituled, Man wholly Mortal, &c. by R. O. Two editions of it. The author unknown. Probably a Dissenter, from the Establishment. Presumptive Proofs of it. Not free from controversial prejudice. Attacks the hypothesis of one Mr. Woolner and Ambrose Parey. Quotations from his book. Whether Adam was created immortal? General Contents of R. O's book. Note on Mr. Bulkley's explication of Luke xvi. 19—31. Critical Reviewer commended. R. O. met with an Adversary. Uncertain who he was. A bad and obscure reasoner. An instance of it. Avoids meddling with R. O's scripture testimonies. Depends wholly upon other sorts of authorities. Postscript to R. O's book. A passage of Pliny there cited. Remarks upon it.

WHILE these disputes were going on abroad 1644. between *Des Cartes* and *Gassendi*, and their 1655. respective followers, a countryman of our own, who distinguished himself by the initials R. O. wrote a sensible little tract, which he intituled *Man's Mortalitie, or a Treatise wherein it is proved, both theologically and philosophically, that whole Man (as a rational creature) is a compound wholly mortal, contrary to that common distinction of Soule and Body; and that the present going of the soule into Heaven or Hell is a mere fiction; and that at the Resurrection is the beginning of our immortality, and then actual Condemnation and Salvation, and not before. With all doubts and objections answered and resolved both by scripture and*

and reason ; discovering the multitude of blasphemies and absurdities that arise from the fancie of the soule, &c. Amsterdam, Printed by John Canne, Anno Dom. 1644. Quarto.

In the year 1655, another edition of this book was printed at London in 24^{to}. with the title a little altered, viz. *Man wholly mortal, or a Treatise wherein 'tis proved both theologically and philosophically, that as whole man sinned, so whole man died, &c.* In this edition, said to be by the author corrected and enlarged, there are many alterations and variations from the former, particularly in the disposition of the Chapters.

In the following account of this book, the second edition, is chiefly cited.

Who or what R. O. was, cannot now be traced. A copy of verses prefixed to the quarto Edition, complements him as a *young man*. As to his principles, his adversary (to be introduced by and by) supposes him to be a limb of that “ martial devil “ called *Abaddon* or *Apollyon*, forasmuch,” says he, “ as the designs of all such as have disturbed our “ peace of late days, are generally for ruin or de- “ struction ; the former acts were for destruction “ of prelacy, or power Ecclesiastical ; the latter for “ subversion of regality, or sacred rights of Princes, “ &c.”

The man guessed well, yet he did only guess. For R. O. in his first Edition (the only one his opponent had seen) gives no hint of his enmity to prelacy, or of his sentiments on the established religion.

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In his second edition indeed, we have the following argument.

The immortalists held, that man was compounded of a mortal body, and an immortal soul. “If
“so,” says R. O. “man must be partly mortal,
“and partly immortal, and consequently, must
“have two lives or beings; for if that which is
“partly mortal, partly immortal, have not two
“lives or beings, then that being must be all a
“mortal being, [and then whole man dies,] or else
“all an immortal being, [and then whole man lives
“for ever,] or else his flesh is no more part of him
“than a tree is part of an house; and so when the
“heads-man chopt off the Bishop of *Canterburie*’s
“head, he cut off no part of the man.” p. 24, 25.

Again, having confuted the common notion that the body was only the soul’s instrument of action, from the absurdity of supposing the instrument only to be doomed to death, while the conscious agent is left alive, he says, “I hope the soulary
“champions, the priests of the church of *England*,
“may be ashamed longer to assert the soul to have
“all life in it, and the body to be but the soul’s
“instrument, whereby it acts and moves; and
“henceforth cease to delude, and stop the mouths
“of the people with a bare verbal resurrection;
“that the end of their faith may be suitable to
“Christ Jesus, the foundation on which it is built,
“both real and infallible.” p. 52.

These may be considered as specimens of R. O’s reasoning on his subject, as well as of his church-principles. By the way, we have here a double
instance

instance of controversial prejudice. R. O. could not but know, that there were *Soularies*, as he calls them, who were *not* of the church of *England*, and who were no better friends to Archbishop *Laud* than himself. On the other hand, his adversary takes it for granted, that every one who espouses any doctrine contrary to the established system, must be a destroyer of ecclesiastical foundations. When he considered R. O. as an imp of *Abaddon*, he could not know what were his sentiments of the Bishop of *Canterbury*, or the Priests of the established church. And he could not but know, that many of those whom he accused of “destroying and profaning sacred and religious edifices, and ruining Cathedral and Collegiate Churches,” were, in the article of the immortality, or separate existence of the soul, as orthodox as himself. But it is the infirmity of all Ecclesiastics who are taking their repose on the bosom of an establishment, to be jealous of all innovations, and to connect in their ideas, the demolition of an intermediate limbus, with the ruination of “all sacred and religious edifices,” as if the soul-sleepers would not be as glad to take a nap in the stall of a Cathedral as themselves.

But to return to R. O. of whose manner of treating his subject, we shall give a few examples.

The modern Hypothesis which he attacks is that of one *Woolner*, and of *Ambrose Parey*. He gives no hint of his acquaintance with the principle of *Dés Cartes*, though he most effectually confutes it in the course of his engagement with his other opposites.

Woolner,

Woolner, it seems, wrote a book on *the original* of the soul, wherein he will have the soul to be an *aerial* substance.

On which R. O. thus reasons. “Whatsoever is
“*aerial*, is *elemental*. Ergo, this soul is *elemental*,
“and so *finite*. If this immortal spirit,” says he,
“have an aerial body, I wonder what would be-
“come of it if a living man were closed up in a
“vessel, which were so solid every where, that the
“air could not possibly evacuate, and there the man
“die ; either it must perish with the man, or else
“remain there, through which there is no passage
“for its *aerial* body. So that he so martyred, hath
“an ill favoured paradise for his soul.” p. 8.

But *Woolner*, who went upon the school-system of substantial forms, availed himself of a distinction between the substantial form of the body, and the body itself. The schoolmen considered the *form* as *primitive*, *permanent*, and *incorruptible* ; the body, or the matter, as a machine, enlivened and actuated by the form, upon which the machine or matter could have no reciprocal influence ; consequently the *form* being withdrawn and separated, the *body* became lifeless, corrupted, and resolved into its original element.

To this R. O. answers. “The *form* is so in the
“*matter*, and the *matter* is so in the *form*, as there-
“by, and not else, is an existence or human entity.
“And their being is in this union, and their union
“is in this being. So that, take away the form,
“and the matter ceaseth ; take away matter, and
“the form ceaseth.—The form, is the form of

“ the matter ; and the matter, the matter of the
 “ form ; neither of themselves, but each by the
 “ other, and both together, make one being. There-
 “ fore if one be by the other, and thereby both to-
 “ gether, then one cannot consist without the other ;
 “ they must both perish together ; for nothing can
 “ consist without that by which it is.” p. 9. 10.
 And thus he pays them in their own coin, jargon
 for jargon. There is more of the same sort to the
 end of the chapter ; but this may suffice for a
 sample.

In the second chapter our author proceeds to *Con-
 siderations from the Creation, Fall, and Resurrection of
 Man, &c.* and begins with the expression, *God brea-
 thed into his face the breath of life.*

“ That which was breathed,” says he, “ before
 “ it was breathed, was not a *living soul* ; but that
 “ which was breathed upon, *became* the living soul.
 “ No living soul was ascribed to Man before that ;
 “ so that Man was formed, and Man became a
 “ living soul, as *Paul* saith, 1 Cor. xv. 45. *The first*
 “ *Man, Adam, was made a living soul* ; which was
 “ his natural body, as verse 44 ; of whom was the
 “ woman, both innocent and free from sin, and so
 “ from death and mortality ; for *the wages of sin is*
 “ *death* ; Rom. vi. 28. Therefore before sin there
 “ could be no death (g), *but as by one man sin enter-*
ed

(g) Whence, it seems, some have concluded, that *Adam*
 was created *immortal*. Against whom the late ingenious Cri-
 tic, Mr. *John Alexander*, in his note upon, 1 Cor. xv. 44.
 thus argues. “ What becomes of the assertion, that *Adam*
 “ was

“ *ed into the world, even so, Death by Sin. Rom. v.*
 “ 10. *And, by the offence of one man, judgment came*
 “ *upon all men unto death, v. 18.—and 1 Cor. xv. 21.*
 “ *By man came death. Therefore Man was created*
 “ *free*

“ *was created immortal? and how will it be made consistent*
 “ *with the apostle's decision in this place, concerning the pri-*
 “ *ority of animal to spiritual bodies, in the order of time?*”
 Might not this question be answered by asking another? What
 becomes of the assertion that *Adam* was created mortal? And
 how will it be made to consist with the apostle's decision in a-
 nother place, that the introduction of death or mortality was
 posterior to *Adam's* receiving his natural or animal body? If
Adam was created *mortal*, death did not come by Man, but
 immediately by Man's Creator. Mr. A. goes on. “ For if
 “ *Adam* was created immortal, he must have had a spiritual
 “ and heavenly body, and not an animal, earthly, and cor-
 “ ruptible one. Then it follows, that the spiritual constitu-
 “ tion was before the animal, contrary to what the apostle
 “ asserts.” Either this is mere *logomachy*, or it must suppose
 that God could not create an incorruptible animal body. And
 yet we read of an animal body which *saw no corruption*; and
 that this was an animal body, we know by its having flesh
 and bones, after it was delivered from corruption. We can-
 not therefore argue, *Adam* was created with an *animal*, there-
 fore a corruptible body. If it should be said, that the body
 of our Lord was rendered incorruptible by an extraordinary
 act of divine power; I would ask, whether this power was
 superior, either in its exertion or its effects, to the *creative*
 power of God? If not, is it not conceivable that *Adam* might
 be created with a body like unto our Lord's resurrection body?
Paul says indeed, *The first man is of the earth, earthy*, which
 agrees with the words by which the sentence of death pro-
 nounced upon the same first man is introduced, *Dust thou art*.
 But the sentence it self, *Unto Dust shalt thou return*, does by
 no means imply that the *returning to dust*, was the natural
 consequence of *Adam's* having a body originally from the
 dust.

“ free from the power of death, so to continue ;
 “ but in the day he did eat the forbidden fruit, he
 “ became mortal ; and as he was made a *living soul*,
 “ 1 Cor. xv. 45, so by transgression, a *dying soul*.
 “ &c.” p. 30.

R. O.’s adversaries held, that the soul was the very life, had all life in itself, and that the body was only its instrument. Whence he argues, that it must be the soul that sinned, and consequently, the soul that must die. “ If otherwise,” says he, “ the efficient
 “ cause was less punished than the instrument, as if
 “ the Magistrate should hang the hatchet, and spare
 “ the man that beat a man’s brains out with it.”

To this it was answered, that the punishment of the sinning soul was not that kind of mortality to which the body became subject, but that which is called in scripture, the *second death*, i. e. the pains of Hell.

R. O. replies, “ Condemnation in Hell, is not
 dust. It was, we know, the effect of a sentence denounced upon the transgression of a positive law, which, if the first man had continued innocent, had never been passed upon him. This sentence therefore, effected a *change* of constitution in the animal body of man, which was not *natural* or *original*, but as much out of the course of his *created nature*, as the incorruptibility of the animal bodies of *Enoch*, *Moses*, *Elijah*, and *Jesus*, was out of course of the *fallen nature* of man. The result is, that though *Adam* had an animal body (*σῶμα ψυχικόν*, a term, by the way, of great latitude) a body composed of flesh, blood, and bones, it will not follow that *Adam* was created mortal and corruptible. Otherwise, *Adam* was in no worse condition *after* the sentence of death, than he was *before* it ; contrary to the express accounts both of *Moses* and *Paul*.

“ properly,

“ properly, but remotely the reward of Adam’s fall.
 “ For, properly, condemnation (under the gospel)
 “ is the wages of infidelity, or unbelief in Christ,
 “ as salvation is of belief. 2. If the soul be of a
 “ distinct being from the body, and sinned as the
 “ body, and thereby incurred the condemnation of
 “ Hell, then must the soul have a particular re-
 “ demption from thence as the body from the
 “ grave ; or else it must perish there for ever ; and
 “ if Christ redeemed us from thence, then he must
 “ suffer the same eternal torments ; that is, the
 “ worm of conscience, despair, everlasting chains of
 “ darkness, &c. But these he never suffered.”
 p. 38.

Again. “ If the soul (as they say) be the very
 “ life, or have all life in its self, and the body but
 “ its instrument, then the body *now* hath no more
 “ life in it, than when it is reduced to the earth ;
 “ but is as dead as a door nail ; and so at the resur-
 “ rection, cannot be raised from death ; for that
 “ which never had life cannot be raised from death,
 “ and the union of it to the soul at the resurrection
 “ they fabulate on, is but an addition of corpulen-
 “ cy, or gross matter to the soul ; which, in truth,
 “ is no resurrection at all from the dead, no more
 “ than the restoration of flesh lost by famine, sick-
 “ ness, &c. For the resurrection from death, is not
 “ the addition of gross matter to life, but the resto-
 “ ration of life from death. So that the restitution
 “ of lost flesh *now* to the soul, is, in quality, as much
 “ a resurrection from the dead, as the addition of
 “ the whole body to the soul at the last day ; which

“ is to say with the *Sadducees*, there is no resurrec-
 “ tion from the dead. But the *Soularies*, I know,
 “ are loth to be branded for *Sadducees*, which how
 “ they will avoid I cannot see. For if the soul live
 “ separate from the body, the body cannot be raised
 “ from the dead, except the body had a life of its
 “ own, differing from that of the soul; and so a
 “ man must have two lives (as they say a cat hath
 “ nine) the one mortal, the other immortal, and at
 “ the resurrection have two immortalities.” p. 38.

—40.

The two next chapters, the 4th and 5th, contain,
 1. *Scriptures to prove this mortality.* And, 2. *Ob-
 jections extorted from [other] scriptures, answered.*
 In which are the common texts alledged on each
 side, with the common answers and interpretations
 respectively (*b*).

Chap.

(*b*) The parable of the Rich man and *Lazarus*, Luke xvi.
 had hitherto passed as an uncontrovertible proof of an inter-
 mediate state; at least I have met with none prior to this
 R. O. who were disposed to dispute it. But this writer, be-
 sides shewing the absurdity of the literal sense so applied, ob-
 serves very sensibly, that the parable was intended to prove,
 “ that nothing is more effectual for conversion than the ordi-
 “ nary preaching of the word by the true ministers or ambaf-
 “ sadors of God; such as *Moses* and the true prophets of
 “ old, and as Christ, his apostles and prophets, and true mi-
 “ nisters since.” p. 88. The scenery which introduces this
 doctrine, hath accordingly been considered, either as totally
 fictitious, or merely accommodated to the conceptions of the
 vulgar on the subject. See *Grotius* and *Le Clerc* upon this
 parable. And Bishop *Warburton* allows, that the parable
 gives the representation, not of the *intermediate*, but the *final*
 stat

Chap. v. intituled, *Of Procreation, how from thence this mortality is proved*, contains the examination of an old saw, concerning the origin of the soul, viz. *creando infunditur, et infundendo creatur*; a disquisition too indelicate to be dwelt upon. If the common principles allowed on each side are indecent, absurd, or ridiculous, no wonder the reasonings on

state of the righteous and the wicked. On the other hand, Mr. Charles Bulkley, in some late *Discourses on the Parables* of the N. T. derives a proof of an *intermediate state* from the circumstances of this narrative. And having distinguished parables into two kinds, by a sort of learning not very intelligible, he determines this of the Rich man and Lazarus, to be of the sort which *seem to require a greater strictness in the explication of them*; and yet he immediately adds, *though it is not to be imagined, that even in these, every minute circumstance of the storie was intended to convey some distinct and separate truth*. But this being admitted, who shall draw the line between the *strictness* and the *laxity* of explication? and what, in the event, may become of Mr. Bulkley's distinction? For example, he says, "The immediate transition of the soul into one or other of these two different states, is very strongly described by the immediate transition observable in the narration or parable itself, from their death, to this their succeeding state of happiness or misery." Here indeed the *immediate transition* is *strictly* described in the narration, but *that*, taken along with other *strict* descriptions, will by no means permit us to take this to mean the *immediate transition of the SOUL*. Which looks as if the ingenious writer had contrived his distinction on purpose to accommodate his explication, reserving to himself *exclusively*, the privilege of using the *free* or the *strict* method of interpretation, as occasions should arise. To what Mr. Bulkley further advances upon this subject, a judicious and complete answer is given in the *Critical Review* for November, 1771. p. 356.

both sides should be so too. I take this to be the case with this particular branch of the dispute, and therefore leave it as I found it.

Chap. vi. is intituled, *Testimonies of scripture to prove that whole man is generated and propagated by nature.* Of which as above.

R. O. was not long in meeting with an *Answerer*, of whom I am not able to give any account, farther than from the contents of his book, the copy of which in my hands hath no title-page. The passage transcribed above from his introductory chapter, speaks him to have been a passionate admirer of sacred edifices, and consequently of sacred revenues, both which were in those days in some peril. He imagines R. O.'s hypothesis would help on the destruction of these holy things, and expresses his resentment against him accordingly, calling the writer *a worthless pamphleteer,—a sorry animal, who had stepped into the croud of scribblers, in defence of an old rotten heresy, condemned and suffocated by consent of the wise, almost at the hour of its birth.*

There is so little precision in the reasoning of this writer, that I can hardly promise to extract a passage from him by way of specimen, which I understand myself. However to gratify those who have more penetration, I have here selected one or two periods from his second chapter, *in answer to R. O.'s first class of arguments.*

The said R. O. as we have seen above, insisted, that in a being compounded of matter and form, the matter and form either existed together, or perished together.

To

To this it is here answered, “ that as matter
 “ throughout all mutations, remaineth uncorrupt-
 “ ed; so also, according to the judgment of fun-
 “ dry knowing men, and diligent inquirers into the
 “ works of nature, and transmutation of natural
 “ compounds, natural and material forms them-
 “ selves also, do not perish at their parting from
 “ their matters, but only are dissolved, and dissipa-
 “ ted, lying after that in their scattered atoms with-
 “ in the bosom of nature, from whence they were
 “ before, by force of the seed, extracted, the result
 “ of whose union was the form. So that the enti-
 “ ty of the form remains after corruption” [of the
 matter, *I suppose*] “ though not in the essence or
 “ formality of a form, or totally and compleatly.”
 p. 5. And having given us his authorities for this
 doctrine, such as the author of *Religio Medici*, *Daniel Sennertus*, *Democritus*, *Anaxagoras*, [two Atheists
 according to *Cudworth*] *Kircher* and *Aristotle*, with
 his own remarks and explications, he concludes,
 “ Thus his main argument is answered, after which
 “ all the rest will fall down headlong with any light
 “ touch, though but of a finger.” p. 6. Which an-
 swer, asserting the *dissolution* and *dissipation* of the
 soul, as the substantial form of the body, gives up
 the essential principle of those who hold the con-
 scious existence of the separate soul, viz. its *indivi-*
sibility.

With respect to R. O.'s scripture-proofs, this au-
 thor saith, “ His places cited out of scripture in
 “ favour of his error, are so impertinent, as that it
 “ were no small piece of folly to examine them one
 by

“ by one. They all of them signify that Man
 “ shall die, or sometimes, that *Joseph* or *Simeon* is
 “ not, as *Gen. xlii. 36.* all which, how they are to
 “ be expounded and understood, may sufficiently
 “ appear by that which hath been said in the pre-
 “ cedent chapter.” p. 7. 8. Whence, it seems, we
 are to understand, that *Democritus*, *Anaxagoras*, and
Aristotle were commentators on the scripture, as
 well as heathen philosophers. And accordingly in
 the next paragraph he brings in a passage of Seneca’s
Troades, by way of explaining *Solomon’s* meditations,
Eccles. iii.

In fine, this author depends much more upon his
 authorities, than upon his own penetration into the
 subject; and accordingly endeavours to smother
 poor R. O. with a whole cart-load of philosophers,
 divines, poets, orators, schoolmen, pagan, rabbi-
 nical, papistical, mahometan, and what not; who
 were just as much in agreement with each other, as
 he was with R. O. as may be understood by his ci-
 ting *Des Cartes* along with *Aureolus*, a disciple of
 the angelic Doctor, as agreeing in their notions
 concerning the soul.

He might, if he had chose it, have saved him-
 self all this pains. R. O. had exhibited a comfort-
 able groupe of these *soularies*, in the very entrance
 upon his subject, together with a touch of their re-
 spective doctrines, and what he said of these may
 serve for a compleat reply to his opponent. viz.

“ Divers other conceptions and fancies there be
 “ to uphold this ridiculous invention of the soul,
 “ traducted from the *Heathens*, who, by the book
 “ of

“ of nature understood an immortality after death ;
 “ but through their ignorance *how*, or which way,
 “ this invention (reported to be *Plato's*) was occa-
 “ sioned, and begot a general belief : and so they,
 “ and after them the Christians, have thus strained
 “ their wits to such miserable shifts, to define *what*
 “ *it is*, but neither conclude with any certainty, or
 “ give satisfaction therein.” p. 4.

In the Postscript however to the second edition, R. O. shews, from a chapter in *Pliny's* natural History, *Lib. vii. cap. 55*, of which he gives a translation, that there were among the ancients, many who deemed men to be wholly mortal. *Pliny* himself ridicules the notion of separate souls, and among other things, is severe upon the practice of paying divine honours, under this notion, to dead men.

R. O.'s translation of this chapter, is not accurate, but gives the general sense of *Pliny*, with tolerable exactness. The translator however hath left his quotation short. There is a circumstance in the original that may be worth mentioning.

Pliny having said, that these documents concerning a future life, were childish dotages, and the figments of mortality, desirous of never ceasing to be, adds, *similis et de asservandis corporibus hominum, et reviviscendi promissa Democrito vanitas, qui non revixit ipse*. This is not easy to understand. *Democritus* was an atomical atheist, and denied the existence of incorporeal substance (*i*), and according to *Pliny's* account, this preservation of dead bodies

(i) Cudworth Intel. Syst. Chap. 1.

was in order to *reviviscence*, which, taking his account of the common notion of souls, must be by the reunion of that spiritual or incorporeal substance to the lifeless carcase, which had been separated by death. Mr *Bayle* thinks this place of *Pliny* may be explained by a passage in *Varro*, which imports, that “ the advice of *Heraclides Ponticus*, who taught that “ dead bodies ought to be burned, was better and “ wiser than the prescription of *Democritus*, who “ would have them preserved in honey (*k*). Here is indeed a confirmation of *Pliny*’s assertion, that *Democritus* prescribed some way of preserving dead bodies ; but there is nothing in *Varro*’s comparison to tempt us to believe, that he knew that a *reviviscence* was proposed by this particular method of preserving them. Some of the old philosophers held, that the atomical seeds of the soul remained in the dead body, whereupon *Lucretius* forms this dilemma. “ Either these seeds do or do not remain “ in the dead carcase. If they do, the soul does not “ depart with its whole substance ; if they do not, “ whence comes the brood of worms in the putri- “ fied carcase (*l*) ? ” *Democritus*’s principles led him to suppose, that the seeds of the soul were left in the dead body, and by their jumbling, generated and enlivened the insects. But the worms destroyed the form and organs of the human body, and the *reviviscence* here, was only of a multitude of nauseous insects. Whereas if the form and mechanism of the human body could be preserved by burying it in honey or otherwise, it might be suppo-

(*k*) Bayle *Democritus*, Rem. [H]

(*l*) Lib. iii. v. 701.

fed that these feeds of the soul would work the reviviscence of the man, with all his faculties and functions. *Nugari liceat et nobis.*

C H A P. XVI.

Thomas White's book *De medio animarum statu.*

A. Wood's account of the author. The occasion of this book. Opposes the common doctrine of Purgatory. Substitutes a different account of it. Remarks. His notion of praying for things predestinated. The opinion of an English Divine on that subject. Difficulties upon White's system. White's solution. Remarks. Strikes at the number of Masses. His apology. Inconsistent with his doctrine. Postpones real rewards and real punishments till the day of judgment, without intermediate purgation. Appeals to Fathers and Liturgies. Differs from Hardouin concerning the latter. Many nominal Protestants have thought of an intermediate state, as White did. Archbishop Wake quoted. And Archdeacon Chapman. Remarks. White's opinion of the nature of the soul in a state of separation. Adopts that of Aquinas. Remarks. His second treatise, intituled, *Responsa ad exceptiones.* Declares for the *Philosophia Digbæana.* More of a Protestant in it, than in his first tract. Reasons for the length of this article. An account of White's broils with the College at Douay. And of the censure of his book in the English Parliament.

I HAVE said above, that the papists were always 1653.
steady to their interest, and, for the most part, ~~~~~
uniform in the support of a point upon which so
much

much of it depended. I am now about to exhibit one or two writers of that communion, who ventured to depart from the received system, with such savings, however, to the authority of the church, and such respect to the head of it, as an establishment, armed with the terrors of a burning or a starving inquisition, may be supposed to create.

The first of these in order of time, was THOMAS WHITE, of whom *Anthony Wood* gives the following account :

“ He was the son of *Richard White*, of *Hatton* in
 “ *Essex*, esq; by *Mary* his wife, daughter of *Edmund*
 “ *Plowden*, the great Lawyer in the reign of Queen
 “ *Elizabeth*; which *Thomas White*, having been al-
 “ ways from his childhood a Roman Catholic, be-
 “ came at length a secular Priest, and a most noted
 “ philosopher of his time, as his published writings,
 “ much sought after by many, shew. *Hobbes* of
 “ *Malmesbury* had a great respect for him, and when
 “ he lived in *Westminster*, would often visit him;
 “ and he and *Hobbes* but seldom parted in cool
 “ blood, for they would wrangle, squabble, and
 “ scold about philosophical matters, like young so-
 “ phisters, tho’ either of them was eighty years
 “ of age; yet *Hobbes*, being obstinate, and not able
 “ to endure contradiction, (though well he might,
 “ seeing *White* was his senior) yet those scholars
 “ who were sometimes present at their wrangling
 “ disputes, held that the laurel was carried away by
 “ *White*; who dying in his lodging in *Drury-lane*,
 “ between the hours of two and three in the after-
 “ noon of the 6th day of *July*, an. 1676, aged 94
 “ years,

“ years, was buried almost under the pulpit in the
 “ church of *St. Martin's* in the Fields, within the
 “ Liberty of *Westminster*, on the 9th day of the
 “ same month. By his death, the Roman Catho-
 “ lics lost an eminent ornament from among them ;
 “ and it hath been a question among some of them,
 “ whether ever any secular priest of *England*, went
 “ beyond him in philosophical matters.” *Athen.*
Oxon. Vol. ii. Col. 665.

This *Thomas White*, it seems, had thrown out something, either by word or writing, against the common doctrine of *Purgatory*, and a report was raised, that he had been censured for it by the titular bishop of *Chalcedon* [*Richard Smith*] who at that time presided over the secular Priests that were in *England*. To obviate therefore the prejudices which might arise from misrepresentation, and to explain himself more fully on the subject, he published a little latin book with this title, *Villicationis suæ de medio animarum statu, ratio Episcopo Calcedonenfi reddita a Thoma Anglo ex Albiis east saxo-num.* *Parisiis.* 1653.

In the year 1659 an English translation of this book was published, done, as I suppose, by *White* himself, the initials T. W. being subscribed to the Dedication, though what is called the Translator's preface, affects to ascribe it to a by-stander. Upon this persuasion, I shall give the English citations from this translation, subjoining at the same time the latin in the margin, that the reader may judge for himself.

The author lays it down as a foundation, that
 “ the

“ the church hath defined nothing more, than that
 “ there is a Purgatory, and that the souls there de-
 “ tained, are relieved by the prayers and suffrages
 “ of the faithful.” p. 2. (*m*)

He then states the common doctrine of Purgato-
 ry, as follows: “ That the deficiencies of men are
 “ some *mortal*, and punishable with eternal misery,
 “ others *venial*, and expiable by temporary suffer-
 “ ings. Mortal lapses, if repented, they” [the mo-
 dern divines] “ absolve from eternal, condemn-
 “ ing them notwithstanding to time-limited tor-
 “ ments. So that suppose an imperfect Christian
 “ departed, whose venial sins no satisfaction at all
 “ hath cancelled, whose mortal an imperfect one
 “ hath diminished, these Doctors admit him not to
 “ the *beatifical vision*, but provide for him a subter-
 “ raneous cave, filled with flames and horrid instru-
 “ ments of torture, which his there confined and
 “ imprisoned soul, must, till expiated, endure. And
 “ these pains they thus far suppose like to those we
 “ here experience, that they are inflicted by ex-
 “ trinsic agents, and against the will of the pati-
 “ ent, conceiving moreover, that they take their
 “ proportion from the measure and nature of the
 “ crimes committed in the body, according to the
 “ estimate of divine justice. Nor can these tor-
 “ ments, by any industry or force of the soul it-
 “ self, be evaded, tho’ by our prayers who survive,
 “ they may be mitigated, and before the otherwise
 “ due and prefixed time, determined. The same

(*m*) Purgatorium esse, animasque ibi detentas, fidelium
 suffragiis juvari,

“ relief

“ relief they fancy from the satisfaction or merits of
 “ the saints, if by the church to that intent ap-
 “ plied.” p. 3. 4. (n)

It will be absolutely necessary to give *White's* answer to this representation, not so much to shew his dexterity in demolishing this horrible furnace with all its crucibles, as to exhibit the accommodation he provides for separate souls in the room of it.

“ Thus these later divines; from whom in this
 “ discourse I must, for the most part, take leave to
 “ dissent. I acknowledge in human failings a dif-
 “ ference betwixt *mortal* and *venial*, nor do I deny
 “ an *imperfect* remission of *mortal* impurities; but I
 “ place not this imperfection in that the *sin* is totally

(n) In hanc itaque modernorum Theologiæ cultorum vulgus fere conspirat sententiam. Hominum non undequaque sanctorum, defectus alios esse mortales, et æternitatis pænosæ inductivos, alios veniales, et temporarii cruciatûs mercede compensabiles. Mortales defectus, si pænitiæ lachrymis macerentur, æternis quidem absolvi suppliciis, sed finiendis nihilo minus esse obnoxios torturis. Moriatur itaque imperfectus Christi cultor, venialibus nullâ, mortalibus incompletâ satisfactione minutis, aiunt ad visionem beatificam non admitti; sed esse subterraneam quandam caveam, ignibus aliisve cruciatuum instrumentis refertam, in quam detrusus, *animâ tenus*, similibus expiatur vindictis. Has pænas credunt in eo comparari iis quas mortales experimur, quod invitos premant, quodque ab extrinseco agente imprimantur. Easdem autumant, ex divina existimatione proportionem, ad perpetrata in corpore delicta, accipere: neque ab ipsâ animâ quâcunque vitari posse, sed precibus nostris qui superstitibus illis sumus, mitigari, et terminum destinato citiorem accipere. Tantundem sibi persuadent ex sanctorum satis passionibus, modo per ecclesiam applicentur, effici posse. Hæc Neoterici differunt.

“ cancelled, the *pain* only remaining, but in the
 “ change of an *absolute* into a *conditional* affection,
 “ as it were instead of, *I will*, substituting, *I will*
 “ *not* ; but *Oh that I lawfully might* ! This sinner
 “ therefore concludes, that an eternal good is to be
 “ preferred before that which he abandons, and in
 “ his life and actions, prefers it ; but looks notwith-
 “ standing back upon it as amiable with a wishful
 “ glance, not unlike the cows which bearing the ark
 “ did bellow to their calves shut up at home. The
 “ affection or inclination he had to temporal good,
 “ is restrained, not extinguished ; of *mortal* become
 “ *venial* ; changed, not destroyed.

“ Being therefore, by the operation of death, as
 “ it were, new moulded or minted into a purely
 “ *spiritual* substance, he carries inseparably with him
 “ the matter of his torment, in the like manner as
 “ he also doth, who takes leave of the body with
 “ his affections only *venially* disordered. We have
 “ no occasion here to employ *infernal* architects, to
 “ invent strange *racks* and *dungeons*, since the in-
 “ nate and intimately inhering strife and fury of
 “ the *affections* bent against reason, perform alone
 “ that *execution*, which is therefore proportioned to
 “ the sins, because springing and resulting from
 “ them, nor ever otherwise, possibly capable to
 “ cease and determine, unless the soul, by a new
 “ conjunction with the body, become again suscep-
 “ tible of contrary impressions. This, in the *resur-*
 “ *rection*, is performed by a twofold operation of
 “ *fire*, one *corporal*, which aptly disposes the matter
 “ of bodies for the ministry of angels, and reunion
 “ with

“ with their spirits ; the other *spiritual*, to wit, the
 “ judgment of *Christ*, that is, the bodily and men-
 “ tal intuition of him, which transfers the disposi-
 “ tion of souls from the distortion acquired by the
 “ commerce of the body, into that state which is
 “ the immediate aptitude for *beatifical vision*. In
 “ this we conceive to consist the *remission of pains*, or
 “ (as the scripture terms it) *sins* ; for the procuring
 “ whereof in *due time*, we acknowlege the efficacy
 “ of the prayers of saints, either such as are already
 “ glorified, or such as daily press on towards that
 “ happiness. These, to my best apprehension, are
 “ the summary heads of both opinions.” p. 4. 5. 6.
 7. (o)

Hitherto

(o) Me opposita in plerisque detinet sententia. Mortalium a venialibus defectibus actionis humanæ dissidentiam, agnosco ; solvi quoque lethalem impuritatem imperfecte, non inficior. Sed non in eo consistere hanc imperfectionem, quod culpa plenè sit deleta, maneant pænarum reliquæ ; sed quod affectus absolutus in conditionatum sit translatus. Quasi dicas, pro, *Volo*, substitutum sit, *Nolo, sed o si liceret!* Existimat, itaque, talis homo præferendum esse æternum bonum, et hoc vitâ et actione perficit. Sed ipsum vitandum adhuc amabile quasi retorto oculo intuetur ; et ut vaccæ arcum reportantes, ad vitulos domi clausos remugit. Compressus itaque est ad bonum temporarium, non extinctus ; factus est ex mortali venialis ; mutatus, non penitus ablatus.

Hic ergo, cum mortis prælo in spiritum subsistentem fuerit expressus, secum fert unde torqueatur, sicut et qui aliis affectibus venialiter detortis obsessus, egreditur corpore. Non itaque locum uspiam tartareis oppletum ferculis cogitamus, quibus animæ, ab extrinseco tortore lanienam patiantur, sed intimam, et viscitùs ingenitam affectuum contra rationem, ra-

Hitherto the hypothesis is equally arbitrary on each side, nor hath Mr *White* any more reason to laugh at the architects of a material Purgatory, than the architects had to smile at his *squeezing out* a spiritual substance from the human body, by the *press* of death. This *spiritual substance*, we see, he supposes to be conscious of its intimately inhering affections which are contrary to reason, and to be horribly tormented with their rage and fury in its separate state, till the time of its reunion with the body.—Whence it follows, that there is no remission of sins, no remission of this mental torture till the resurrection, nor any *intermediate* purgatorial fire, tending to such remission, by cleansing or purifying the separate soul from these evil affections. For he plainly supposes the resurrection body absolutely necessary for the *double* operation of *his* purgatorial fire, to prepare the man, first, for his adap-

biem et furias horrescimus. Hanc peccatis propterea proportionatam esse, quia ab iis prognatam; alioquin indelibilem, nisi anima, mediante corporis conjunctione, patiens evadat. Hoc in resurrectione per duplicem ignis actionem in actum perducitur; corporei, qui corporum materiam ad angelica ministeria, et adaptationem corporum ad unitatem cum spiritibus præparare sit idoneus; et spiritalis, qui est iudicium Christi, seu visio corporea et mentalis Christi Domini, quæ transfert animarum dispositionem ab eâ distortionem quæ ex corporeo complexu remanserat, in eam quæ sit ad visionem beatificam congrua præparatio. Et in hoc consistere poenarum vel (ut scripturæ loquuntur) peccatorum remissionem. Preces porro sanctorum, sive jam Deo fruuentium, sive in corpore, aut extra corpus adhuc in ænigmate peregrinantium, ad hunc effectum valere, suo tempore præstandum. Hæc sunt, quantum ego capio, utriusque sententiæ capita. p. 3. 4.

tion

tion to his angelic ministry, and secondly, for the beatific vision.

But then, as this purification was not to be accomplished, or indeed to commence, till the day of judgment, what is the efficacy, or what is the use of those prayers which are put up for these souls in their intermediate state? The church hath declared, that the souls detained in purgatory, are relieved by the prayers of the faithful. To this proposition Mr. *White* hath assented. It remains then that he should reconcile it to his hypothesis.

It is a very incomprehensible supposition, that the prayers of the faithful should contribute to bring about this wonderful effect by any natural instrumentality, or indeed by any efficacy ascribed to them in holy writ. For if the *effect* is to follow as sure as there shall be a resurrection of the dead, and neither sooner nor later, and if, in the mean time, the sufferings of the spiritual substance are proportioned to the sins committed in the body, it should not seem, that the prayers of the saints, or of the whole church, should have any efficacy towards the accomplishment of an event, which, after all, is to happen only at a prescribed or predestinated period (*p*).

This objection our author found so considerable, that he employed his whole twenty-second chapter to answer it.

In this chapter he begins with observing, that every good thing that befalls us is *predestinated*, and

(*p*)—Suo tempore præstandum.

therefore if we may not pray for the relief of souls in an intermediate state, because the final period of their sufferings is predetermined, we may not pray for any good thing, nor even our own salvation (*q*).

His adversaries still insisting, that we should only pray for those things which we do not know to be predestinated, he answers, that whatever we *do not* know, this we certainly *do* know, that unless what we pray for is predestinated, it will not be granted (*r*).

He proceeds then to say, that these objectors dissemble, or do not consider, that the *means* are predestinated as well as the *end* (*s*): and *prayer* among others. This he infers from 2 Pet. i. 10. where Christians are exhorted to *make their calling and election sure*.

Some persons however have speculated upon this and the like texts so far as to make the predestinated *end* dwindle into a mere contingency; and there indeed, in my opinion, our author lands at last.

(*q*) Adeone oblitos esse [Theologos] quæcunque nobis prospere contingant, prædestinationis esse dictata? Quid de *salute* propriâ vel alienâ? Quisquamne prædestinationis effecta esse dubitat? Pro his, itaque non erit orandum. p. 96.

(*r*) Aiunt quidem, sed non pro iis orandum decertant quæ nobis constat esse futura. Sed idem nobis labor recurfat; quantumvis enim ignari simus an sit prædestinatione sancitum quod petimus, hoc tamen ignorare non licet, nisi a prædestinatione stet, non concessum iri quod petimus. *ibid*.

(*s*) Error itaque argumenti, vel proponentis, in eo latebat, quod considerabat sic prædestinatum esse effectum, ut dissimularet causas esse prædestinatas, seu vias per quas adiretur. P. 97.

“Whatsoever,”

“ Whatsoever,” says he, “ is predestinated, so obtains
 “ the stability of its immutable *arrest*, (the liberty
 “ and contingency of second causes, by which it is
 “ brought about, not impeding) that if any one of
 “ them should fail, that very thing which we term
 “ predestinated, could not come to pass. And apply-
 “ ing this assertion to our present purpose, if prayer
 “ should not be made for the dead, they would
 “ never be delivered, notwithstanding the irresistible
 “ force of predestination, through the imbecillity of
 “ causes by which their delivery is promoted (*t*).”

English Transl. p. 202.

But Mr *White*, having laid it down as certain,
 that the time of final relief, the day of judgment,
 however predestinated, would not appear, till the
 number of the elect should be perfected (*u*), a for-
 midable

(*t*) Quodcunque prædestinatum (ita non vetante libertate
 et contingentia causarum secundarum per quas originem ca-
 pit) in sua saluum esse firmitate, ut nihilominus, si quidlibet
 eorum deficeret, non esset futurum ipsum quod vocamus præ-
 destinatum. Et, applicando ad nostrum usum hanc assertio-
 nem: Si oratio pro mortuis non fiat, non futuram esse libe-
 rationem, non obstante firmitate prædestinationis, ex imbecili-
 tate causarum per quas in rerum naturam progreditur. p. 98.

A learned Divine of our own times speaks to this point of the
 efficacy of prayer, with a more becoming modesty, “ When
 “ God from the throne of celestial glory, issues out *that un-*
 “ *controulable command to which all events are subject*, even
 “ *your desires*, humble christians, are not overlooked or for-
 “ gotten by him. The *good man's prayer* is among the *rea-*
 “ *sons*, by which the Omnipotent is *moved* in the administra-
 “ tion of the Universe.” *Ogden's Sermons on Prayer.* p. 24.

(*u*) Non nisi impleto numero electorum, hunc diem, quem
 prædestinatum clamabat argumentum, nobis appariturum. p.

midable objection was raised upon this position, *viz.* the insignificance of offering prayers for particular persons, since this day of relief would break no sooner upon *one* than *another*. It might possibly happen, that some of the elect would have no prayers at all offered for their relief; in such a case, there would be *an imbecility of second causes*, which, with respect to these particulars, would prevent the end, however predestinated, from taking place. And then again, as these *unprayed-for* elect were of the number which was to be perfected or completed before the day of final relief, it would, from *White's* premisses, follow, that the elect, for whom the prayers of the faithful were put up, would be equally disappointed of the predestinated end, as the others.

In answer to the latter part of this objection, (which indeed he does not formally state) he says, "He that prays supplies what was wanting to the sufferings of the departed, without which supplement he could not be saved (x)." Which is

98. The same idea seems to be adopted by the church of *England* in her burial office—"Humbly beseeching thee of thy gracious goodness, shortly to accomplish the number of thine elect and to hasten thy kingdom, that we with all those who are departed in the true faith of thy holy name, may have our perfect consummation and bliss both in body and soul in thine eternal and everlasting glory," which is praying for the dead, according to *White's* system, in the aggregate. The common Prayer book before the restoration, had it, *that we with* this our brother, *and all others* who, &c. which was praying, for the soul of a particular.

(x) Orans itaque supplet quod deerat passionibus defuncti, sine quo supplemento non salvaretur.

briefly

briefly to put all the dead who are not prayed for, out of the number of the elect.

The rest of the objection he answers by stating some *intermediate* benefits which separate souls receive by the prayers of the faithful, which it will be best to give in his own words. "He," says our author, "who is the occasion that more prayers are offered to that intent, hath, as it were, a greater right to that day than he for whom fewer are offered. Whence to him, it will arrive more grateful and honourable, than to the other, *who less contributed to its advance.* But besides, these pious offices and affections of others, *being known by the person departed whom they concern,* beget a disposition in his soul, by which, when time shall serve, his love to God, and consequently his *Beatitude* will be increased. Moreover, by way of impetration, they become *occasions* to the divine providence of disposing many things which otherwise would be differently ordered, that in the day of *Harvest* they may enlarge his either essential or accidental happiness. If any thing of this happens through the good deeds of the person himself departed," [I suppose he means by leaving money for prayers and masses] "it is to be accounted among his merits, or the rewards due to his merits. But if such prayers spring not from any root which he himself did, whilst living, plant, but purely from the charity of some propitious persons, they are the effect of God's "provi-

“ providence, whose mercies are numberless.” *Eng. Transl.* p. 203, 204 (y).

I have only two observations to make on this passage, leaving the rest of it to be confuted by the systematical purgatorian catholics, whom it chiefly concerns.

1. Mr *White*, by supposing that the day of judgment is *advanced* or *promoted* in proportion to the prayers of the faithful, must suppose likewise, that it is proportionably retarded and kept back by the want of them.

2. By allowing that the departed souls are conscious of the prayers that are made for them, or what is the same thing, of the pious affections of those who offer them on their behalf, must allow, that this consciousness continues as long as these prayers continue to be made for them. The use I make of these observations will appear presently.

(y) Respondetur hoc saltem negari non posse, quin plurimum quam pauciorum precum votario, magis debebitur illa dies; eò itaque honoratior et gratior ei adveniat, *quam minus eam promoventi*. Præterea *hi pii affectus aliorum pro ipso, cogniti a mortuis*, suam vim et dispositionem in animam introducunt, qua fortior, cum tempus affluerit, in amorem Dei affurgat, et in potiori Beatitudines sede collocetur. *Sunt etiam in genere impetrativo occasiones divinæ providentiæ, quibus plura sic disponat, ut gaudium, sive essentielle, sive accidentale, in die messis augeant, quæ alioqui secus disponenda forent*. Et cum ex bonis et benefactis ipsius defuncti hæc accidunt, inter merita ipsius, vel meritis debita præmia, computanda erunt. Et si forte non ex his quæ ipsemet gessit, sed ex bonitate aliqujus alterius Personæ ei propitiæ, hæc eveniant, in divinam id providentiam refundendum est, cujus misericordiarum non est numerus. p. 98, 99.

One cannot wonder that this perplexed account should be very unsatisfactory to the general run of popish supplicants for the souls in purgatory. They expected very different things for their departed Friends as the fruits of their prayers, namely, speedy deliverance from their pains and tortures, and, in the mean time, some cooling refreshment under them. They would by no means understand what it was that Mr. *White* offered them in lieu of these benefits ; and whatever it was, they would think it too long to wait for it till the day of judgment.

On these heads Mr. *White* found it necessary to give the plaintiffs some satisfaction, and begins it with saying, that, “ we should not regard what
“ people *do* expect, but what they *ought to* expect.
“ —If the metaphorical fire makes deeper impres-
“ sions upon the vulgar than metaphysical truth,
“ let them enjoy their own notions, they may use
“ the expressions of the Fathers, and Councils, that
“ souls are tortured, and are relieved by prayer,
“ without mentioning any time, concerning which
“ Fathers and Councils are silent (z).”

“ Are you still unsatisfied,” says he, “ and urge
“ an immediate releasement? I am contented, let
“ it be the very next moment after your prayer ;

(z) Sed neque nos sollicitos tenere debet, quid sit quod eos *moveat*, sed quid *oporteret* eos *movere*.—Sed et si vides affectus magis metaphoricis ignium, et aliarum pœnarum explicationibus commoveri, dici possunt quæ concilia et sancti nos docent, torqueri animas, et precibus relevari ; de tempore fileatur tanquam ignotum. p. 99.

“ for

“ for whatever time intervenes betwixt it and the
 “ restoration of the world, is, to them, but as
 “ one moment.” *Eng.* p. 205. (a)

But if so, what becomes of the doctrine above, that the day of judgment, is advanced or retarded *in proportion* to the prayers that are or are not made for departed souls? What becomes of the *continued* consciousness in the separate soul, of the pious affections of its intercessors, and the *improvement* it makes in its happiness by the benefit of that consciousness? The spiritual substance, according to this philosopher, when squeezed out of the body by the press of death, carries with it the materials of its torture in its unpurified affections; this torture he calls *horrible*, and says it is proportioned to the sins committed in the body. Is it possible to suppose, that all this torture can be inflicted, all this improvement made, in a moment of time? In the church of *Rome*, prayers are made for the dead, the moment the breath is out of the body, and prayers for the deliverance of the departing soul from the pains of purgatory, even before its actual departure, whence it must be supposed, that not even a single moment is allowed for all this purgatorial Discipline, (b) upon the system of father *White*.
 And

(a) *Necdum satisfactum est? et adhuc poscis subitaneum solatium? Eja fiat secundo post preces momento. Quodcunque enim inter illas et mundi instaurationem intercedit iis, momenti duntaxat rationem habet.* p. 99.

(b) Dr. *Connor* thought the soul did not depart from the body till after death: It may be entertaining to the reader to subjoin his explanation of this matter, in a very honourable audience

And if this system had any solid foundation, a very few and very short prayers would do the business, and a great deal of the money might be spared which was expended on the vicarial prayers and masses of Monks and Friars. A consideration, which, as it would militate with more effect against his hypothesis than a thousand syllogisms, he takes care to obviate as follows :

“ In fine, if I be thought the occasion of restrain-
 “ ing the profuse abundance of *Alms* in this parti-
 “ cular, I shall withall have the satisfaction to have
 “ checked the daily increasing swarms of unworthy
 “ *Priests*, who qualified neither with knowledge
 “ nor good manners, live like drones upon this
 “ stock, to the disgrace and contempt of their func-
 “ tion, to the abuse of souls, and the common
 “ scandal both of those who live *in* and out of the

audience. “ I owned indeed,” says he, “ that in death the
 “ soul was actually separated from the body, but I could not
 “ allow, that that separation was the cause of death. But
 “ that the death of the body was the cessation of the motion
 “ of the heart, of the blood, and of the spirits, which cessa-
 “ tion could not proceed from the separation of the soul,
 “ since these do not at all depend upon it, as I proved be-
 “ fore, but it was occasioned by some defects in the organs
 “ and fluids of the body, which, losing their due disposition,
 “ and their mutual correspondence one with another, all their
 “ actions cease; which cessation is properly called *Death*; so
 “ that the soul finding them incapable of receiving its influ-
 “ ence and obeying its commands, quits the body *after it is*
 “ *dead*; by which it appears that the separation of the soul
 “ is not properly the cause of death, but that the death of
 “ the body is the cause of the separation.” *Biogr. Britannica*.
 Vol. iii. p. 1450.

“ church.

“ church. Catholic Faith shall from henceforth be
 “ no longer the subject of the derision of *externs*,
 “ whilst her children vainly labour to defend against
 “ *Heretics* those things which have neither ground
 “ nor proof, but are introduced from the customary
 “ expressions of *Law-courts* and *Exchanges*, not from
 “ the language of nature, or christian tenets.” *Eng.*
Transf. p. 206. (c)

Here the reconciliation of *White* with *White*, becomes impossible. He had said above, that it could not be denied that the day of judgment would be more honourable and more welcome to him for whom *more* prayers are made, than to him for whom *fewer* are put up. He had said in the same page, that if there were a deficiency of *means*, not even the predestinated *end* could be brought about. By the *means*, he understands the prayers of the faithful, and of the church; by the *end*, the day of judgment. Hence it follows, that the more mass-

(c) Tandem si non adeo affluentes sint eleemosynæ, neque tam multi erunt, sacerdotes, cætera indigni et scientiâ et moribus, hoc uni freti stipendio, in dedecus et contemptum ecclesiæ, in deceptionem animarum et scandalum tum intra ecclesiæ claustra, tum extra degentium. Non submittetur fides catholica irrisioni exterorum, dum filii ipsius ea conantur adversus hæreticos propugnare, quæ neque defendere possunt, neque probare, cum sint ex vocibus a foro et mercaturâ, non a naturâ vel christianis dogmatibus mutuatis, introducta. p. 100.—By the cast of this censure, one would be tempted to think that *White* intended to condemn the practise of praying for the dead in the gross. But in truth this was only a fling at the Monks who had in a great measure engrossed these alms to themselves, and with whom *White* and his brethren the secular priests, were, in those days, at perpetual war.

Priests

Priests there are, and the more they are employed, the better it will be for the departed souls. If it should be said, that these priests are improperly employed in this service, he himself furnishes us with the answer. He himself contends that the forms of the church used in these services, are conformable to his doctrine, and though they should be differently understood, yet as he tells us, that not what *is*, but what *ought to be* understood, should only be regarded, the efficacy of the *opus operatum* takes place upon the general principles of the church, which puts the ignorance or the immorality of the officiating Priest quite out of the question.

It should seem, that an ingenious man could hardly be driven into these inconsistencies, but for the sake of qualifying his real sentiments with such doctrines of the received system, as he could not, with any safety, disavow. He could not but be sensible, that the consciousness of a moment, would not admit of the orthodox hypothesis, which made provision for ages of sufferings. If it should be said, that the omission of prayers for the dead, leaves an interval of consciousness proportioned to the length of that omission, it is answered, that his position is general; the momentary consciousness, as we shall see presently, when he comes to philosophize on the nature of the separate soul, does not arise from the prayers put up for it immediately upon its departure, but from a want of succession of ideas in the simple and instantaneous apprehension of the soul its self.

What this author chiefly asserts in this tract is,
that

that the purification of the separate soul, its deliverance from its sufferings, and its access to beatitude, are only accomplished at the day of judgment and final retribution; and to this, he says, that all those passages to be met with in the scriptures, in the writings of the fathers, in the liturgies and offices of the church, which seem to favour a purgatorial fire, and a deliverance from intermediate pain, do evidently refer. He attempts to shew, that the most respectable of the Fathers are clearly of this opinion, and that the rest of them, who seem to favour an intermediate purgation, are misunderstood by those who cite them in support of the vulgar hypothesis. He lays great stress upon the expressions in ancient liturgies, and infers that the sense of those who composed them was, that the separate soul was not to receive the fruit of those prayers which were put up for it, till the last day.

Among these expressions, we find such as these, *qui obdormierunt in fide Christi—in spe resurrectionis*, —*qui dormiunt in somno pacis*, and the like. These expressions, without all doubt, exclude all notion of intermediate purgatorial pains, and as they are to be found in the prayers that are made for *all*, they must be supposed to take in the case of all for whom such prayers are properly made, and among the rest, for those who are gone off the stage unpurified from the affections of venial sins only.

But then (to observe it by the way) they equally exclude *White's* notion of separate souls, tortured with impure affections, in proportion to the sins committed in the body.

However

However he cites other expressions in present use with his church, which are not so favourable to his hypothesis. But to these he will not allow an early, and consequently an universal practice, but says, they only obtained general practice from the times of *Odilo*, abbot of *Clugny* (*d*), and were not authorised by the practice of the Greek church, the de-

(*d*) He hints that these forms took their rise from some revelations which *are believed* to have been made to the Monks of *Clugny*; but which we may suppose, *White* himself did not believe. If these were fictitious revelations, the services to which they gave occasion are impositions upon the church, and want authenticity, and those only are to be accounted authentic, which were in general use before the eleventh century, when *Odilo's* forms took place. But all these agree with *White's* hypothesis, *ergo*, &c. How different are the conclusions of Father *Hardouin*? who having occasion to prove that all the offices of the church were forged, or at least interpolated, brings the following instance: *Nuper editum Rituale Parisiense* [Perhaps about the year 1712] *orationem exhibet in exsequiis defunctorum, qualiter fiunt in Ecclesia Metropolitana, quæ docet aperte animas gloriam percipere tantum supremo die judicii*. Prolegom. apud *Vaillant*. 1766. p. 105. One may be certain that Mr. *White* would have insisted that this was a proof of the authenticity of the Ritual; but the Jesuit exclaims, *Hæcine propterea dicenda est Ecclesiæ Parisiensis fides?* Certainly, or what shall we say to the Bishop of *Meaux* on the chapter of variations? Whatever that prelate might think of *White's* interpretations, he would hardly agree with *Hardouin*, that the Church had for so many ages, worshipped by fictitious Rituals. *White* himself indeed allows that the ancient Liturgies had been partly interpolated, and partly castrated by different Prelates, but this he thinks an inconsiderable objection in the present case, and that this doctrine, being uniformly inserted in so many of them, must have been the constant doctrine of all former ages.

cisions of the Florentine Council, or any precedents earlier than the times of *Bede* and *Gregory*.

Even these passages, however, our author, by a dexterity of interpretation, (which it is of no importance to examine) brings about to a friendly agreement with his scheme of futurity.

In fine, to make all things meet, he comes to this conclusion, that all these expressions of the saints, which, taken separately, (that is without his glosses and comments) smell so strong of heresy, on a sudden, put on a new face, and come forth adorned with truth and candor, particularly these three propositions. 1. That *the Saints may lawfully be prayed for*. 2. That *they are yet detained in the entry, or porch, or avenues of heaven*. 3. That *they are all to pass thro' the fire of the last judgment, whereby themselves shall be approved, and others suffer detriment, and finally be saved, yet so as by fire*. “All which, from our grounds,” says the English, “are convinced of manifest truth, and with a grateful return give no less testimony to our doctrine, placing it under the protection of Christian discipline and defence, and with their impetrate files securing it from all hostile attacks.”

p. 77. (e).

The

(e) Respectanti modo quæ deducta sunt, non expectatum promicat miraculum, tot et tam vulgatas sanctorum sententias, crimini hætenus suppositas, clarissimâ veritatis et honestatis luce vestitas, in manifestum occurrere; Has potissimum tres proloquor. *Orari posse pro Sanctis; Sanctos in atrio adhuc detineri; et transituros per ignem supremi judicii, atque eo esse ipsos examinandos, ceteros detrimentum passuros, et quasi*

per

The translator, observe, is a little puzzled what to make of this *atrium* of departed souls, and therefore gives us three words to chuse, the *entry*, the *porch*, and the *avenues*, hoping, perhaps, that one of them might be reconciled to what is said in the original, namely,—*esse in LOCO corporibus tantum competit*. p. 14.

And now, give me leave to ask, what does this man pretend to hold concerning the intermediate state of departed souls, more or less than a hundred nominal Protestants who execrate the *soul-sleepers*, have held, taught, and written on various occasions, save only that they avoid the word *Purgatory*, while they assert the thing in terms at least as strong as *White* himself makes use of?

Perhaps you will ask me, does any Protestant teach that the dead, saints or others, may be prayed for?

Judge for yourselves, good people, from the sayings of a man, of whose Protestantism you may have depositions upon oath from numbers of grave, reverend doctors, professors and preachers of the present period.

“If any one,” says Archbishop *Wake*, “will put up his particular requests for the dead, for any of those ends for which the primitive Christians did, we shall not condemn him.”

per ignem salvatum iri. Quæ tria ex doctrina data manifesti luminis et veritatis conscia peraguntur. Neque minus doctrinæ datæ per hanc suam manifestationem vicem et testimonium reddunt, eamque in tuto collocatam sub Christianæ disciplinæ protectione, muniunt et circumvallant. Cap. ix. p. 37, 38.

Primitive Christian, is a denomination of great latitude, nor hath the line been drawn with such precision as to enable us to say, where the exclusion of *non-primitive Christian* begins. Dr. *Chapman*, Archdeacon of *Sudbury*, allows, indeed, that, “prayers for the dead were in use among the ancient Christians, but,” he adds, “not such as will help the *modern Popish* cause;” which is happily enough distinguished from the *ancient Popish* cause, save only that it may leave a suspicion, that the latter is not in so much disrepute with the Doctor as the former (*f*). Be that as it may, the learned Archdeacon of *Sudbury* brings down primitive Christianity, so far as relates to this article of praying for the dead, to the end of the fourth century.

(*f*) Dr. *Middleton* brings a passage from *Tertullian* (the instance from *Origen* is rather a *Jewish* than a Christian notion) which plainly and expressly mentions the custom of praying for refreshment for the departed soul, in the interim between death and the resurrection. *Introductory Discourse*, 1747. Quarto. p. 18. What says Dr. *Chapman* to this? why, he first ascribes it to *Middleton*’s great seeming zeal to serve the Romanists; I suppose he means by pointing out the passage to them. But was the Archdeacon ignorant, that this instance of primitive practice had been cited to authorize the doctrine of Purgatory, before *Middleton* was born? by no means. He was only unwilling that *Tertullian* should be branded for his *ancient Popery*, being so substantial a pillar of Dr. *Chapman*’s Church, that he could not possibly be spared. And the great esteem he has for this primitive Father and his authority, makes it utterly impertinent in him to alledge in the second place, that “this was only a *private* opinion.” What! not in the mouth of this great primitive Oracle? See *Jesuit-Cabal* farther opened, p. 31.

Let

Let us now return to Archbishop *Wake*, and consider the *ends*, for which, according to him, the primitive Christians prayed for the dead.

“Some of the primitive Christians,” says his Grace, “prayed for the bodies resurrection, others for their acquitting at the day of judgment, supposing it to be no way unfit to pray to God for those very blessings which he has absolutely promised and resolved to give.” Exactly agreeable to what we have cited above from *White*, concerning prayers for what is already predestinated. The Archbishop goes on. “Some thought, that an increase of glory might be obtained to the righteous by their prayers.” And under this idea, he informs us, that “the primitive church made prayers — for the best of men, for the holy Apostles, the Martyrs or Confessors of the church, nay even for the blessed virgin herself, all which, at the same time, they thought in happiness, and who, the Papists themselves tell us, never touched at Purgatory.” Which are the very same ends and uses of prayers for the dead, assigned by *White*.

His Grace farther informs us, that, “all believed this [praying for the dead] testified their hope of them, and manifested their faith of that future resurrection, which they waited for, and in the mean time, maintained a kind of fellowship and communion between the members of Christ yet alive, and those who were *departed only, not lost by death (g).*”

(g) *Wake's 3 Tracts against Popery, Sect. iii. p. 31, 32.*

He says, indeed, that, “ *Some of these ends* were
 “ only the private opinions, which the particular
 “ Christians of old had concerning the reason and
 “ benefit of praying for the dead (*b*).”

But what *all* believed, could not be the private opinions of particular Christians *only* : and it would be strange enough, if the primitive Christians, in praying for the dead, should never think of any of them, but such as the Papists say never touched at Purgatory. By the Archbishop’s own expression, it appears, that some prayed for one *end*, and some for *another* : Was there not one of these primitive Christians, who remembered in his prayers the condition of those poor souls who went out of the world in their sins ? We are assured by *Tertullian*, that there was ; and that a *refrigerium* was solicited for such souls in their intermediate state.

But be this last, if you please, the practice as well as the opinion of particular Christians only ; it is still a practice which Archbishop *Wake* does not condemn ; “ he does not condemn any one
 “ who puts up his particular requests for the dead,
 “ for *any* of those ends, for which the primitive
 “ Christians did.” And if such persons are not condemnable, what Dr. *Chapman* says to exculpate the primitive church from Dr *Middleton*’s charge of superstition in this instance, namely, “ that those
 “ opinions which countenanced a *purgatory*, were
 “ only the private opinions (or conjectures rather)
 “ of certain writers, while the general doctrine of

(*b*) *Wake*’s 3 Tracts against Popery, *Sect.* iii. p. 31, 32.

“the churches admitted no such refinements,” is wholly impertinent. These *opinions* or *conjectures*, according to Dr. *Wake*, were not to be condemned, why then should not the churches admit them? I repeat it then, that Dr. *White* did not go farther in his speculations on an intermediate state, than, (perhaps hardly so far as) some Protestant Doctors, so called, have done.

Hitherto we have exhibited this same Dr. *White* only in the light of skirmishing with his adversaries upon church-principles; it remains now, that we produce his positive opinion of the nature of the soul in a state of separation, and this opinion he gives *ex professo*, in his 17th chapter.

He there adopts the doctrine of *Thomas Aquinas*, who held, that discourse, and composition of ideas, have their origin from the body, and are not to be looked for in immaterial beings; because in them, there is none of that successive *impetus* upon the phantasy which arises from the bodily organs, consequently the knowledge of these pure spirits, all comes by immediate intuition, which shews principles and connexions at once, without deduction or succession of ideas, and this intuition exhibits nothing to the separate spirit but the naked truth, divested of all those fallacies which arise from the reasonings of the fallible man, and the interposition of material substance (i).—Hence it is likewise

(i)—Docet [*Aquinas*] in spiritibus abstractis, neque discursam esse, neque compositionem, sed simplicem duntaxat

likewise concluded, that there is no change in these immaterial spirits, because there are no instruments, no diversity of parts, one of which might act upon another, no distinction of the matter acted upon, from that which acts upon it; all which are necessary to effect mutation (*k*).

But then, as our author concludes from this state of the case, that the soul, in this state of separation, sees nothing but the naked truth, as it is not susceptible of false opinions, a considerable objection arises, namely, how it comes to pass that the soul should be freed from the false opinions it entertained in this world, and not at the same time be divested of those affections which depended upon them?

It will be best to give his answer in his own words. "This happens," says he, "not thro' any discourse, but by the precise stroke of death. For it being impossible to a spiritual nature, at one and the same time to assent to two contradictories, seeing and comprehending the

apprehensionem—Scilicet existimat S. Doctor hæc ex corpore originem trahere, in immateriatis non esse expectanda. Experimur siquidem compositiones et discursus ex succedentibus memoriæ in phantasiam impetibus nasci, quos si tollas, impossibile est successionem inter indivisibilia contingere. Omnia itaque uno quasi oculo et ictu, spiritus nudos necesse est conspiciari. p. 74.

(*k*) Et hæc est ratio quare immutabilis sit, quæcunque resolutio facta, quia scilicet, nulla sunt instrumenta nulla diversitas partium, quarum una in alteram agat; nulla materiæ et agentis distinctio, quæ omnia requisita sunt ad mutationem. p. 75.

“contra-

“contradiction, and nothing, as hath been said,
 “being able to escape the knowledge of the sepa-
 “rated soul, it is evident that truth must over-
 “come falsity, and since one of them only can
 “take possession, truth must abide, and error
 “give place, and this thro’ the very disposition
 “of the soul it self by death. But that the af-
 “fections, on the other side, being not contrary
 “to each other, nor of contrary objects, may at
 “the same time subsist in the soul; death framing
 “its creature according to the predisposition of the
 “subject it works on.” *Engl.* p. 155. 156. (1).

If any one desires to know how the separate soul
 becomes *the creature of Death*, Mr. White gives him
 the following account.

“The soul, when first infused into the body, is
 “such as the quality of the matter it is united un-
 “to, exacts and determines it to be; because a na-
 “tural action, that is, [an action] which doth not
 “exceed the rank and limit of causes, cannot but
 “act according to the existence of the subject, and
 “do that which is conformable thereto, and apt
 “to be produced thereof. But death also is a na-

(1)—Hoc non contingere ex discursu aliquo, sed ex præciso
 mortis ictu; cum enim impossibilis sit spiritalis natura quæ simul
 semelque assentiatur duabus contradictoriis videns volensque
 ipsam contradictionem, nihilque, (ut dictum est) latere possit
 animam, clarum est veritatem fortiores esse falsitate; et cum
 una tantum inesse possit, eam, falsitate deficiente, ex vi ipsius
 constitutionis animæ, per mortem ipsi inesse: affectus autem,
 cum non sint contrarii, neque contrariorum, simul in mente
 subsistere, quia vis mortis, secundum subjecti præparationem,
 suam molitur creaturam. p. 75, 76.

“ tural

“ tural action, making that which of a man can be
 “ made, to wit, a spiritual Substance which we call
 “ a soul. And as the disposition of the embryo or
 “ seminal concretion, delineates the future man, so
 “ that man, to have had in the course of his whole
 “ life, these and these thoughts and affections, de-
 “ signs and points out by the impressions left, the
 “ future conditions of the soul. So that death pro-
 “ duceth such an entity, as, from the man so dis-
 “ posed, is naturally producible. And the entity so
 “ made, continueth such, till it be as it were new
 “ molded, which is the work of the resurrection.”

Engl. p. 153. 154. (m)

This personification and plastic activity of death, puts one in mind of a certain epitaph.

Do all we can,

Death is a Man

That never spareth none.

But now, with all this *simplicity of apprehension*, this *immediate intuition of truth*, this *discernment of*

(*m*)—Animam, cum primo corpori infunditur, talem esse, qualem materiei qualitas exigit; quia scilicet actio naturalis, hoc est, seriem causarum non prætergrediens, non potest nisi ex subjecti existentia agere, et hoc facere quod ex subjecto fieri natum est. Est autem Mors et ipsa quoque naturalis actio, faciens quod ex homine natum est fieri, Ens, puta, spiritale, quod Animam dicimus, Sicut vero dispositiones Embryi, vel seminarii tuberis designat futurum hominem, sic hominem tota vita talia vel alia [f. talia] cogitavisse et voluisse, per relicta vestigia, futuram designat Animam. Facit itaque Mors Ens quale ex sic affecto homine natum est prodire; et Ens factum tale est, donec denuo contingat quasi referri, quod in resurrectione demum expectatur. p. 75.

principles

principles and connections, and above all, with this *want of contrariety of affections*, how shall we account for that *conflict of these same affections*, which according to our author, make so considerable a part of the torment of the separate soul? In his outset he holds, that the departed soul is beset with those affections which infected it during its union with the body, but which it resists in practice; and this he compares to the cows which drew the Ark to *Bethshemesb*, turning neither to the right hand nor to the left, but lowing after their calves that were shut up at home; and accordingly represents the man thus drawn different ways, as saying to himself, *Nolo, sed o si liceret!* How can it be said, that these affections are not contrary to each other? Here is the affection of a blessed futurity, which carries the man practically on the right road, but here is likewise an affection for things forbidden, to which, according to *White*, he is perpetually looking back; and this retrospective oblique affection remaining in the soul after its separation, can never be reconciled to the affection for future happiness, which remains likewise. This therefore can be considered no otherwise than as an hypothesis invented at pleasure, to evade the censures of those who espoused and profited by the received doctrine; and to substitute for the absurd and ridiculous notions of a material purgatory, something like an *end* to which prayers for the dead might have respect; which would puzzle the stupidity of his adversaries, just as much as if his system was capable of the strictest demonstration.

He

He found himself however under a necessity of defending his doctrine in another treatise, which is intitled, *Responsa ad Exceptiones*, Lond. 1662, in which he seems to me to leave even his own purgatory out of his hypothesis.

In this tract, he declares for the *Philosophia Digbæana* (n) which determines, *nullo modo dicendum mutabilitatem aliquam esse in animabus post mortem*. p. 50. He brings a passage from *Cassiodorus*, importing, that souls, after death, do neither good nor ill, but persevere quietly in their natures; and another from *St Austin*, in these words, *Dormit omnis mortuus, et bonus et malus, unusquisque cum causâ suâ dormit, cum causâ suâ surgit, cum ab hoc somno evigilabunt, simul omnes quod promissum est, accepturi sunt*. p. 78. He says however afterwards, that this same *Austin* was the first who mentioned the deliverance of a soul before the day of judgment, conceiving in his mind that such a thing might be, but openly confessing, that he knew nothing of the matter. p. 99.

Lastly, he brings fresh proofs from ancient Liturgies, that prayers for the dead were only put up, that they might find mercy and reward in the day of judgment; and then adds, by way of conclusion, “ This single consideration would be e-

(n) He was an intimate friend of Sir *Kenelme Digby*, some of whose latin works he translated into English. *Biog. Brit.*, *Digby* [Ken.] Rem. [G] and *Wood's Ath. Ox.* Vol. ii. Col. 353. He likewise wrote a latin preface to a tract of *Digby's*, which somebody else translated into that language from the English. *Ibid.*

“ nough to induce me to adhere to my opinion,
 “ even against the otherwise highest authority, as
 “ I am persuaded that this was the constant and
 “ perpetual sense and judgment of the Catholic
 “ Church, (that is of the church diffusive at all
 “ times, and in all places) and that the opposite opi-
 “ nion was brought forth in the night, and nou-
 “ rished with a blind pretext of Piety, in the dark-
 “ nefs of vulgar ignorance, till it had gained some
 “ strength by numbers, and then broke out in the
 “ Ecclesiastic pulpits and scholastic chairs (o).”

White's peroration is remarkable, which I shall therefore put in the margin (p).

He

(o) Hæc sola consideratio fatis foret mihi, ut adversus ingentem cæteroqui auctoritatem, in meas quæstionis partes inclinarem, persuasus, esse perpetuum et constantissimum Ecclesiæ quatenus catholicæ, (hoc est, et omni tempore, et omni loco diffusæ,) sensum et sententiam; oppositamque opinionem nocturno partu editum, cæco pietatis prætextu inter vulgi et ignorantix tenebras educatum, donec multitudine aliquam potentiam acquisivisset, tum demum in Cathedras tum ecclesiasticas, tum scholares, irrupisse. p. 80.

(p) Nunc quid mihi superest nisi ut per te, Sapientissime Domine, obtester amicum meum, si ex scripto meo clarum illi factum sit totum christianæ actionis vultum, a Christo, ab Apostolis, a Sanctis ad supremum judicii diem stare conversum, et hoc specialiter quoad bona et mala quæ mortuis apprecamur et deprecamur; si clarissime constet ex sacris scripturis quod flamma quæ mundum exscindet, eadem omnia omnium operâ sit examinatura, et mala opera super Christo ædificata consumptura; si peccata in futuro sæculo remitti, et vere purgari animas, et non tantummodo puniri pronunciet antiquitas; si nulla sit mentio liberationis ante diem judicii, ante Augustinum, qui primus aliquid simile possibile esse mente concepit

He had, in his former tract, reprobated the miracles and pretended visions of former times, which had been the chief support of the purgatorial doctrine, even those related by St. *Gregory* and venerable *Bede*. (q) Here he seems to go farther when he says, that this doctrine of intermediate purgation did not arise, *till all occasion for Revelation in the church had ceased*. If so, and if we date the origin of this doctrine in or before the days of *Tertullian*, what must become of the cause of those worthy protestants, who, in contradiction to Dr. *Middleton*, bring down the post-apostolical miracles and visions, some centuries lower? Why should they be less ingenuous than a sensible Papist, who must be conscious, when he made this declaration, that three-fourths of the Trumpery of his church could only be supported on the contrary supposition?

I doubt not but the reader will be curious to know why so much more pains and paper are spent upon this *Thomas White*, than upon some others who, he may think, equally deserve it.

If the subject of his book, and his manner of treating it, will not sufficiently account for this, I

concepit, sed aperte professus est se nescire; si evidentissimum est ex autore Dialogorum, ex privatis revelationibus irrupisse in hominum mentes hanc persuasionem, si hoc agi cæperit postquam revelationi quæ catholicæ fidei sit fundatrix, nullus relictus est locus; si in libris ecclesiasticis Romanæ Ecclesiæ non sit vel una oratiuncula quæ diserte petat liberationem ante diem Judicii, sed tota eorum negotiatio circa diem Judicii versetur, &c. p. 99.

(q) Chap. xviii. xix

beg leave to add, that, with respect to the history of the controverfy, Mr *White* proved to be a more consequential writer than was imagined when his system came first under consideration. To explain this, it will be necessary to give some farther particulars of this Gentleman's personal History.

At the time of the Restoration, and for some years before, there were great animosities among the Popish Doctors concerned in the several missions for propagating the Roman Catholic religion in *England*. There was a community of them in this kingdom, who stiled themselves *The Dean and Chapter of the catholic clergy in England*. *White* seems to have listd himself in this body, and to have been their principal champion, particularly in opposition to Dr. *George Leyburn*, President of the college at *Douay*, a seminary which, according to the said *Leyburn*, was founded purposely to supply the English Mission; consequently this chapter of seculars, erected in England, was looked upon by the President and his society at *Douay*, as interlopers, and schismatics, the encouragement of whom must tend to the annihilation of the seminary at *Douay*, which *Leyburn* represents to have been founded by Cardinal *Allen*, as an Asylum for the exiled Priests driven out of England in the reign of Queen *Elizabeth* (r), and since that time [1568] had sent a-
bove

(r) The foundation here spoken of, was intended from the beginning, as a seminary for Popish Controvertists, and particularly for Missionaries to England. It does not appear that there was any particular view, in founding this society, of

bove a thousand Pastors into England; and he represents it as the Nursery, or Mother House, from whence had gone out the chiefest of their Regulars, such as *Campion*, *Barlow*, &c. (s).

It was *Leyburn's* business, therefore, to represent this English Chapter in as dark colours as possible. We have only to consider his attacks upon *White*, particularly concerning the doctrine of his book on the intermediate state.

WHITE, who went by the name of BLACK-LOE, had been informed, that the Bishop of *Chal-*

of affording refuge to Priests banished from *England*. See *Thuanus* B. cxxvi. at the beginning; *Alan's* article in the *Biogr. Britannica*. Text. p. 77. and 78. Rem. [E]

(s) This Dr. *George Leyburn* was the first english Priest who was sworn Chaplain to Queen *Henrietta*, and to her he appeals for the innocence of his conduct towards the state, which it seems the chapter had called in question; and this the queen might attest with as much safety, as *Leyburn* bore testimony, upon the credit of her Majesty's confessor, that she had never been guilty of any mortal sin. *Kennet's Register*. p. 373, 374. He complains that his adversaries had endeavoured to make him a very rogue, by several accusations brought against him in a kind of pastoral Letter, intituled, "An Encyclical Epistle to our Brethren of England, and subscribed by Master Dr. *Ellis*, Mr. *Peter Curtis*, Mr. *George Warbame*, Mr. *Robert Manly*, Mr. *Lawrence Plat*, Mr. *John Holland*, Mr. *Charles Cancefield*, Mr. *John Singleton*, and Mr. *John Medcalse*, which style themselves the Dean and Chapter or Church of the Catholick Clergy in England." *Leyburn* replied to this in an *Encyclical Answer*, dedicated to Queen *Henrietta Maria*, wherein he apologizes for his own conduct, and recriminates upon his adversaries of the Chapter, with great bitterness. *Kennet*. *ibid.* and p. 385. See also, p. 407, 408.

cedon

cedon had commanded *Leyburn* to cry against his books, and seems to have expostulated with the bishop on that surmise. To which the bishop, in a letter to *Blackloe*, dated July 6, 1652, answered as follows:

“What apparent ground you had to write, that
 “I commanded Mr. *Layburn* to cry against your
 “books, was no true ground, seeing I commanded
 “him the contrary.—Divers faints and learned
 “men have (*Salvâ Charitate*) dissented in their opi-
 “nions even in matters of Divinity, and so may
 “you and I doe, if wee will, and God willing it
 “shall be so on my part.”

This is written in a blank leaf at the beginning of my copy of *White's book*, which seems to have belonged to some friend of the catholic Dean and Chapter; for thus the transcriber goes on:

“The aforesaid instances do evince, that Dr.
 “*Layburn* hath manifestly overlashed, in appearing
 “like a new Lawgiver to all Christians, to damn
 “without sense, and contrary to injunction, Mr.
 “*Blackloe's* opinions.”

This, it is certain, does not concern the book *De Medio Animarum Statu*, because *White* mentions it in his dedication of that tract to the Bishop, whom he styles, *Catholici in Anglia Gregis Pastor*. Probably it may relate to *White's* opinion, delivered in some other piece, for he wrote much.

But, whether with or without authority, it is certain *Leyburn* did open his mouth wide against this doctrine of *White*. He says, in his *Encyclical Answer*, published in 1661, “The Apostolic seat

“ does harbour no good opinion of Dr. *Blackloe*,
 “ for that Dr. *Gage*, their agent,” [*i. e.* agent for
 the Chapter] “ in his letter of Feb. 20. 1661,
 “ shewn to our Seniors,” [at *Douay*] “ hath these
 “ exprefs words, *Mr Blackloe's doctrine is in so*
 “ *great detestation here,*” [at *Rome*] “ *that neither*
 “ *that of Luther or Calvin ever was in a greater.*”
 And then he adds, “ It has been censured by the
 “ University of *Douay*, as scandalous, heretical, and
 “ impious (*t*).”

But *Leyburn* in his wrath, acquaints us with a
 fact which is remarkable enough. He says, that
John Holland, a member of the chapter, and a con-
 vert to Popery, who had been secretary to the bi-
 shop of *Durham*, embraced *Blackloe's* *prophane no-*
velties, and being a nimble, active penman, and in-
 dustrious in spreading *Blackloe's* new doctrines, was
 made secretary to the Chapter; and he adds, that
Dr. Ellis made this Mr. *Holland* a Priest, for the
 great zeal he had shewn at *Lisboa* towards Mr *Black-*
loe's new notions in philosophy. *Kennet*. 353.

The Dean and Chapter of the catholic clergy in
England, were, in their situation, a considerable,
 and probably a numerous body, and it is no little
 credit to *Blackloe* alias *White*, that his notions found
 such reception among them.

White, upon some occasion, found it expedient,
 to submit his doctrines to the judgment of *the Pope*
and the church, as appears by *Kennet's* Register. p. 625.
 His first submission is dated May 8. 1657, but was

(*t*) *Kennet's* Register, p. 382.

thought insufficient, as it might mean, that he only submitted his doctrine to the church aggregate, and not to the Pope alone as the Head of it. Upon this objection, he subscribed another, July 2, in the same year, importing, that he willingly submitted all his writings to the particular see of *Rome*, and *St Peter's* successor the Pope, even out of a General Council. This the people of *Douay* called a *Recantation*. Whereas in truth this was no more than a piece of formality, by way of shelter from the accusation of heresy, to which all the writers of that communion, who have struck ever so little out of the common road, have had recourse. Had *White* meant to *recant* in either of these rescripts, he would hardly have published his *Responsa ad Exceptiones*, five years after, *viz.* 1662. It appears indeed, that in that very year he wrote a letter to the Pope, wherein he professes, that “if his Holiness should proceed to the punishments mentioned in a certain decree, without any further form of law, he would not contend, but undergo them with as much humility and patience as he was able.”

This letter is dated February 3, 1662. and probably before his *Responsa*, &c. was published. It appears however, that the Pope had made a decree against him, and that a decree of condemnation. What does *White* say to this? Does he recant? No; no more than the *Smithfield*-martyrs in *Queen Mary's* days: *He would submit to his punishment with patience and humility; and so did they.*

No body indeed can wonder at such a decree,

when it is considered, how *White* had shaken the pillars of Purgatory to their very foundations by these two books. But that either of these books should be censured by Protestants, and particularly by a British Protestant parliament, as *blasphemous*, *atheistical*, and *profane*, will, I imagine, be matter of surprize, to those who have either read them, or taken an idea of their contents from the foregoing summary.

When I first read in *Anthony Wood*, that *White's* book of *Purgatory* was censured in Parliament along with *Hobbes's Leviathan*, in *October 1666* (*u*), I imagined that sedulous biographer must have been mistaken in this instance; but I thought the fact was curious, and worth a farther inquiry.

And having an opportunity of consulting the Journals of the House of commons, I found as follows.

Anno 1666.

“ Die *Mercurii*. 17^o Octobris. 18^o Car. II^{di}.

“ Ordered, That the Committee to which the
 “ Bill against Atheism and Profaneness is committed,
 “ be impowered to receive information touching
 “ such books as tend to Atheism, Blasphemy, and
 “ Profaneness, or against the Essence and Attributes
 “ of God, and in particular the book published in
 “ the name of one *White*, and the book of Mr
 “ *Hobbs* called the *Leviathan*, and, to report their
 “ opinions to the House.”

In those days, to call in question the natural im-

(*u*) *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. ii. col. 644.

mortality of the human soul, was always understood to imply Atheism. *White's* book had certainly a tendency to weaken the arguments for that immortality, by weakening the common proofs of the soul's consciousness in an intermediate state; but had nothing in it to authorise the conclusion.

I cannot find that this bill against atheism and profaneness was ever passed, though it came upon the carpet several times during that session of parliament. Nor does it appear, that the House proceeded farther in their censures of *White* and *Hobbes*. Nor do I think that *White* would have been censured for his theological notions in that place, if he had not been obnoxious to the politicians of those days on another account.

To understand this, it will be necessary to observe, that *White* was a disciple of Sir *Kenelme Digby*, not only in philosophy, but also in politics. The Knight has been accused, and upon very authentic evidence, of intriguing with *Cromwell*, to the prejudice of the exiled *Stuarts* (x). Whether *White* was in the depth of the secret or not, it is probable he knew something of the transaction, and that *Digby*, (who is called by *Layburn*, Mr. *Blackloe's* *Mecænas*) (y) might set him to work with his pen, in favour of *Cromwell's* government.

Be this as it might, *White* wrote a book, about that time, intituled, *The Grounds of obedience and government*, wherein he held, *That the people, by the*

(x) See his Article in the *Biographia Britannica* Rem. [L]

(y) *Kennet's Register*. p. 286.

evil management, or insufficiency of their governor, are remitted to the force of nature to provide for themselves, and not bound by any promise made to their governor. That the Magistrate by his miscarriages, abdicateth himself from being a Magistrate, and proveth a brigand or robber, instead of a defender.—That if he be innocent and wrongfully deposed, and totally dispossessed, it were better for the common good to stay as they are, than to venture the restoring him, because of the public hazard (z).

I have carried on Mr. *White's* article to such a length, that I shall not attempt to support any conjectures how far this state-offence might influence the parliament to censure *White* at any rate, nor will I inquire why they chose to fall upon his theology, rather than his politics.

It is sufficient for my purpose to shew, what were the leading sentiments of mankind at particular periods on the subject before us. This Mr. *White*, had entered into it with more precision and greater abilities than any man of his time, and I think it very clear, from the inconsistencies he ran into to save the reputation of his orthodoxy, that if the word *Purgatory*, had been out of his way, he would have found no difficulty to dispose of the separate soul in a state of absolute unconscious rest.

(z) *Kenner's Register*, p. 222.

C H A P. XVII.

Nicholas Perrot, (*Sieur d'Ablancourt*) *his opinion how we gain the knowledge of the soul's immortality. His contempt of the current Philosophy. Yet allows it to be useful to confirm the doctrine of revelation on this point. His supposition compared with that of Arnauld and Bayle. Remarks upon all three,*

NICHOLAS PERROT, *Sieur d'Ablancourt*, died 1663. in the year 1664. He was an intimate friend of the learned and ingenious *Olivier Patru*, a celebrated advocate, and member of the French Academy. At one of their meetings, a question was started concerning the immortality of the soul. *Perrot* held, that, "it is religion, and not natural reason, that teaches us the immortality of the soul;" something had dropped from *Perrot*, in the course of the debate, which scandalised *Patru*, and seems to have given him some suspicions concerning his friend's orthodoxy, or, as the word is in *Perrot's* letter, his Catholicism.

To clear himself of these suspicions, *Perrot* put down his sentiments in writing, with the title of a *Discourse*, &c. which he sent to *Patru*, and which is published in a collection of *Patru's* pieces, that appeared in 1692 (a). Here he represents the reasonings of philosophers on the soul, not only as in-

(a) *Les Oeuvres diverses de Mr. Patru De L'Academie Francoise. 2 Tomes. A Amsterdam Chez George Gallet. 1692. Perrot's Discourse is in Vol. 2. p. 354.*

conclusive, but as full of contradiction and confusion. "Some of them," he says, "concluded, that the soul died with the body; and if others believed that the soul was immortal, they drew their conclusions from false conjectures, and ridiculous grounds." He instances in *Aristotle*, "who though he was of so penetrating a sagacity in other subjects, when he came to reason upon the nature of the soul, his discourses are so confused, that sometimes he speaks for, and sometimes against, its immortality." There is no doubt but he was well aware how the peripatetic philosophy had been refuted by the *Cartesians*, though he neither refers to their system, nor makes any exception in favour of it, and indeed must be understood to pass sentence upon that among the rest; for he says, "Take a view of ALL the schools of philosophy, consider what they do and teach there. You will find presumption in some, obstinacy in others, and ignorance, error, and weakness in them all." He says farther, that "provided he believes that God, by his infinite power, can do things that are impossible to nature, he may be allowed to say, that, speaking as a natural philosopher, the resurrection of the dead is impossible (b)."

Would you expect after this to find that this very man has admitted, that arguments out of these philosophical schools, which abound with presumption, obstinacy, ignorance, error, and weakness, are good to confirm a soul enlightened with grace,

(b) Discours. p. 358.

in the belief of the immortality of the soul? What! when upon the principles of that very philosophy, the resurrection of the dead (a doctrine of *grace*) is absolutely impossible? Upon the principles of this philosophy, the soul is capable of existing in a separate state, conscious, active, and percipient of good and evil, pleasure and pain, happiness and misery; by which hypothesis, all the moral purposes of a future account are completely answered, and a resurrection of the dead rendered thereby, useless, as well as impossible.

How is it possible that one of these doctrines should be subservient to the *confirmation* of the other? What connection can a revelation which insures a resurrection of the dead, have with a philosophy which demonstrates such resurrection to be impossible?

I cannot help remarking upon this occasion, the two different suppositions of Messieurs *Arnauld* and *d'Ablancourt*. The former thinks the philosophical demonstration of the natural immortality may be of use, to bring unbelievers to the knowledge and belief of a future state, as revealed in the scriptures; inasmuch as they are a sort of men who will admit nothing but what may be known by the light of reason, and who are unwilling to begin with *faith* (c).

These men then we will suppose, begin with studying the peripatetic or, if you please, the Cartesian philosophy. Here they find, according to

(c) Bayle. POMPONATIUS. u. s.

d'Ablancourt,

d'*Ablancourt*, that upon these principles, the resurrection of the dead is impossible. And the honour of God in the moral government of the world, being sufficiently secured by the hypothesis of a natural immortality, they will be as little disposed to *end* with the point of faith, as to *begin* with it.

The *sieur d'Ablancourt* on the other hand, thinks it necessary to begin with the revealed doctrine of a future state; and, after the mind is sufficiently enlightened by the doctrines of *grace*, to confirm the faithful by the additional testimony of philosophical conclusions, *i. e.* the conclusions of a philosophy full of presumption, obstinacy, error and ignorance, and which teacheth that the doctrine of grace to be confirmed by it, is an utter impossibility.

There is however, in all this one consideration entirely overlooked both by d'*Ablancourt's* piety, and *Bayle's* scepticism. They put the credibility of man's immortality, as revealed in the scriptures, to the account of *faith*, without any respect to the *reasonableness* of it, in consequence of certain facts, which in the same scriptures connect it with the history of man from the first origin of the species. They consider not, or conceal, that the doctrine of the gospel, refers us back to the fall of man, when his title to immortality was forfeited, and that this forfeiture is inconsistent with any natural *inherent* principle of life, after the sentence of death should be executed. To this transaction the resurrection of the dead has respect, and is therefore considered in the light of redemption, a reversal of the forfeiture, and a restoration to the privileges of life

life and immortality. Now nothing plainer than that a philosophy which asserts a conscious, active, and passive life to the soul of man, in a state of separation from the dead body, during the interval between the fall of Adam, and the appearance of the redeemer, totally overturns the whole christian scheme of Salvation, as it must suppose, that either the sentence of death, pronounced at the fall, was null and void from the beginning, or that it was, some way or other reversed without the interposition of a redeemer. And the case will still be the same, whether you begin with the philosophical argument as *Arnauld* proposes, or end with it, as *Perrot* advises. If you begin with it, and find that kind of proof decisive and satisfactory, you preclude all attention to a system founded on facts diametrically opposite to these philosophical demonstrations. If, on the other hand, you are disposed to believe and acquiesce in these facts, you can expect nothing from these philosophical disquisitions, but to be thrown back into a state of doubt and sceptical uncertainty, to which of two opposite systems you must give your assent.

C H A P. XVIII.

Bishop Bull's controversy with Truman. Four propositions of the Bishop's, importing, No immortality for man but of Grace through Christ. Truman's allegation of the Law of Moses to the contrary. Bp. Bull in attempting to answer, overthrows the doctrine of his own propositions. This occasioned by his fear of passing for heterodox. A Reflection on such situations. Bishop Bull's two Sermons republished by Professor Chappelowe, 1765. Mr. Nelson's opinion of these two Sermons. The propositions in these Sermons, subversive of the doctrine of those in his Harmonia. Is contradicted by his Editor [Chappelowe] with respect to the fullness of scripture testimonies in proof of his doctrine. And by Tillotson. Neither Bull nor Tillotson sufficiently guard against the doctrine of Purgatory. Bishop Bull mistaken in the interpretation of his text, Acts i. 25. Not supported by the authorities he quotes. Remarks on the words τοπος ιδιος. And on the death of Judas.

1669. *I*N the year 1669 Mr. (afterwards Bishop) Bull published his book intituled, *Harmonia Apostolica*, the design of which was to reconcile St. Paul and St. James on the article of *Justification*. The subject engaged him of course in a controversy with several divines of different sentiments, and among others, with one Mr. *Joseph Truman*, a learned minister among the dissenters (d).

(d) See *Nelson's Life of Bishop Bull* from p. 89 to p. 255.

Mr.

Mr. *Bull* had advanced the following propositions.

“ 1. The covenant of life made with *Adam* in
 “ his state of innocence, was, by his transgression of
 “ the same, *made void*, not only for himself, but
 “ for his posterity also ; so as now, all the children
 “ of *Adam*, as such, are the children of death, that
 “ is, are excluded wholly from all promise of im-
 “ mortal life, and are subjected to the necessity of
 “ death without any hopes of a resurrection.

“ 2. All those of the posterity of fallen *Adam*,
 “ who are altogether destitute of divine revelation,
 “ and to whom the *new* covenant of life [*i. e.* the
 “ *christian* covenant] hath not yet been manifest,
 “ are under the obligation of no law, but that of
 “ *Nature*.

“ 3. The law of nature, which is the dictate of
 “ reason, so far as it is considered in fallen man, as
 “ destitute of the spirit, and of divine revelation,
 “ doth not prescribe the most perfect and absolute
 “ virtue, nor is an immortal and heavenly life due
 “ to the observation of this law.

“ 4. God never entered into *any* covenant of
 “ eternal life with the posterity of fallen *Adam*, but
 “ what was confirmed and established in our saviour
 “ Christ : and must consequently have been the ve-
 “ ry Gospel itself ; according to that of the apostle,
 “ *The gift of GOD is eternal life, through Jesus*
 “ *Christ our Lord (e).*”

In these propositions it is asserted, that mankind

after the fall of *Adam*, could have no eternal life or immortality but by a new covenant, the covenant of grace in Christ; that neither the law of nature, nor the law of *Moses*, had any such covenant; that there could be no hopes of immortality, without the hopes of a resurrection revealed in Christ: consequently by the term *Death* in the first proposition, Mr. *Bull* must have meant an extinction of the whole man without any reserve or saving of the life of the separate soul; otherwise, if either Jew or Gentile had any assurance (whether by *promise* or any other means) of a future life in a separate state of existence, they would, upon that assurance or proof, ground some *hope* of such future life, to which they would as certainly refer in the course of their obedience to their respective laws, as if it had been an express sanction of them.

And thus *Truman* appears to have understood him, namely, as excluding both Jew and Gentile from all hopes of future life under their respective laws, and necessarily consigning them to the fate of fallen *Adam*, viz. of utter extinction by death.

Whereupon Mr. *Truman* remonstrates, on the behalf of the law of *Moses*, “ that this was putting an
 “ indignity upon it, and was in effect, a reflection
 “ upon God himself, the author of it; alledging,
 “ that Mr. *Bull* had misrepresented St. *Paul*, by
 “ making him say, that the law did not promise
 “ such things, as that a man had need of faith, *the*
 “ evidence of things not seen, to believe them, but
 “ promised only things of sense, not of faith, which
 “ made the law of mount *Sinai*, a dispensation of
 “ servitude,

“servitude, fit only to beget in men a mean and
 “servile disposition of mind (*f*).”

Mr. *Bull* it seems, could not stand against this
 reproach, and therefore bethought himself to say,
 “that Providence took sufficient care that the Jews
 “should not stick in the letter of the mount *Sinai*-
 “law, but look beyond it,” which he makes
 out thus.

“God *provided* that the *tradition of life to come*,
 “derived down from the Patriarchs, either imme-
 “diately from himself, or otherwise, might flou-
 “rish under the law; and be both expounded and
 “confirmed by the sermons of the prophets, whom
 “he raised up in the several ages, for instruction
 “and conduct to his people. He (Mr. *Bull*) saith,
 “the patriarchal condition [*I suppose he means*, of
 “existing in a separate state] is clear, both by the
 “prophecy and example of *Enoch*; and that the
 “subsistence of the soul after the death of the bo-
 “dy, was *hence* believed by the most ancient Jews
 “who lived after the delivery of the law of *Moses*.
 “And this he especially gathereth and confirmeth
 “from the history of king *Saul*; consulting the
 “*Pythonefs* of *Endor*, and seeking of Her, that he
 “might have some discourse with *Samuel* that was
 “then dead, which he would never certainly have
 “done, had he not believed the soul of the de-
 “ceased prophet to survive. He (the same Mr.
 “*Bull*) argueth also to the same effect from the o-
 “riginal of *Necromancy*, the most ancient of all di-

(*f*) *Nelson*, p. 202.

“vinations,

“vinations, founded on the separate subsistence of
“the soul (g).”

Not having Bishop *Bull*'s book at hand, I transcribe this from Mr. *Nelson*, who calls the propositions to which *Truman* objects, “the *Pillars* upon
“which Mr. *Bull*'s superstructure doth subsist.” These pillars however, we see in the last citation, he was obliged to demolish and to bury his whole hypothesis in the rubbish of them. For,

1. By setting the two cases together, it appears, that though God entered into no covenant of life with the Jews, but that, as sons of *Adam*, they were, notwithstanding their law, subjected to the necessity of death, yet that they were provided, and by God himself, with a tradition of *life to come*, in the doctrine of the separate subsistence of the soul, to which they might trust as safely as to an express covenant, it being *expounded* and *confirmed* by the sermons of their prophets. Hence,

2. It follows that the Jews were under *a necessity* and *no necessity* of death at the same time. And,

3. That the unbelieving Jews were not so far wrong in rejecting the gospel, as Christians are apt to suppose; inasmuch as they had, if not a covenant, yet a *confirmed* and *established tradition*, provided by God himself, of a future life, which as it would keep their hopes alive, would likewise influence their obedience, equally with a new covenant, which differed from it only in the circumstances of a resurrection. And,

(g) *Nelson*, p. 203.

4. That

4. That the Gentiles had just as much reason and encouragement to look beyond the law of nature, as the Jews had to look beyond the law of *Sinai*: for they too, if Mr. *Bull* is right, had the *tradition* of the separate subsistence, and, it should seem, in as great perfection as the Jews. For Necromancy undoubtedly had its original among the idolatrous Gentiles, and if, as Mr. *Bull* imagined, it took its original from the separate subsistence of the soul, that doctrine must have been as clearly expounded and confirmed among them, as it was among the Jews.

Besides these infirmities in the reasoning part, Mr. *Bull* seems to me to have made a little too free with scripture history, in deriving this *tradition* to the Jews.

He says, the Jews derived the belief of the separate subsistence from the prophecy and example of *Enoch*. What *prophecy* he refers to, I cannot so much as conjecture: I am sure there is none such in the Bible; and if the Jews derived the belief of the separate subsistence from the translation of *Enoch*, they derived it from an *example* where the soul and body were never *separated* at all. The bishop of *Gloucester* has retailed this notion, after Bishop *Bull*, in the *Divine Legation*, &c. and says it could not be but the Jews might infer a separate existence from the story of *Enoch*. As if some men, in certain cases, were under a necessity of drawing conclusions where they have no premises!

Again, I should be glad to know upon what scriptural grounds Mr. *Bull* affirmed, that *Necro-*

mancy was founded upon the doctrine of the separate subsistence of the soul. He tells us indeed, that “*Saul* believed the soul of the prophet *Samuel* “survived his body, otherwise he certainly would “not have sought of the *Pythonefs* of *Endor* to have “some discourse with *Samuel* who was dead.” But the history gives him no authority for this. The *soul* of *Samuel* is not once mentioned during the whole transaction, and in what manner the charms and incantations of those times were *understood* to operate upon the dead, I will venture to affirm, no body knows (*b*).

But, admit the Jews had the tradition of life to come, by the way of a separate existence, of what use was it to them? which of them appears to have been induced by it to look beyond the letter of the mount *Sinai* law? The Right Reverend author of the *Divine Legation*, &c. who allows that the Jews adopted the *tradition*, tells us they made *no interesting speculations* upon it, and that it was a doctrine which *floated idly upon their minds* (*i*). And indeed we should have reason to be satisfied that this was the worst, if Bishop *Bull* had not told us, that the

(*b*) No one more likely to know this than our great *Selden*. Yet he, giving an account of this matter, only says, *A mortuis autem et expectabant ut, per insomnia de rebus quas sciscitabantur juxta sepulchra pernoctantes, fierent certiores; et Pythoniſſarum ope etiam evocatas eorum species, uti de Samuele traditur, consulebant.* De Dis Syris. Syntag. 1. Cap. 2. And *Maimonides*, whom he immediately quotes, seems to have been no better informed. See likewise Bp. *Clayton's* Chronology of the Hebrew Bible, p. 248—252.

(*i*) *Div. Leg.* Vol. ii. part ii. p. 188. edit. 1758.

doctrine

doctrine of the separate subsistence of the soul was the parent of *Necromancy*, one of the *abominations* which the Jews were most expressly forbidden to practise (*k*), and they would hardly be guiltless in entertaining any *tradition* that should encourage it.

Thus it too frequently happens, that learned men, being struck with the plainness and perspicuity of gospel truth, and ardently disposed to do justice to it, being met in their road by some unlucky *systematical* point, have been obliged, in apprehension of church-censure, to turn out of their way, and either to retract and desert their cause, or to compromise matters so, as to render the most valuable part of their labours of no effect. This, it seems, was the unhappy case of good Bishop *Bull*. “So that “after all,” says Mr. *Nelson*, “the difference between Mr. *Truman* and Mr. *Bull*, will be found “very inconsiderable.

Why, truly, not more considerable than the difference between Mr. *Bull* and himself. For, though it is a little out of our chronological order, as we have this worthy Divine upon the carpet, it will not be amiss to exhibit his sentiments delivered in two sermons, which were republished in the year 1765, by the late Mr. *Chappelow*, Arabic Professor in the university of *Cambridge*, who being grievously scandalised, that the *heresy* of the *Sleep of the Soul*, should have taken root in the said university, gave the public a new edition of these two

(*k*) Deut. xviii. 11th.

sermons, as a proper and seasonable antidote for this *narcotic* poison (l).

Upon what particular occasion Bishop *Bull* preached these two discourses, is not material. Mr *Nelson*, speaking of this bishop's sermons, says, "There
" are some points handled in this collection, which
" at first sight, and from a superficial view, may be
" thought to border too much upon curiosity (m)." And his first instance is, the doctrine of these sermons concerning *the middle state of departed* souls. But this sort of objection vanishes with respect to Bishop *Bull*, when we consider, with what confidence he thinks he proved the propositions he undertook to discuss. For no religious question can be a matter of mere curiosity, but such a one concerning which the scriptures have left us totally in the dark.

Bishop *Bull*, therefore, had not by far so much occasion to consider, whether his proposed inquiry was a matter of mere curiosity, as to consider, whether the propositions he undertook to prove in these sermons, were not totally subversive of his doctrine of *the covenant of life made with Adam in his state of innocence*, which, he insists upon it, *was*

(l) Mr. *Chappelow's* commentary on some passages of the book of *Job* had been quoted by the bishop of *Carlisle*, in support of the sense his Lordship had put upon *Luke* xvi. 19. *Confid. Appendix.* p. 392. Edit. 1755. This publication of Bishop *Bull's* two Sermons might possibly be contrived to acquit Mr. *Chappelow* of all suspicions of *heterodoxy*, which that quotation would tend to countenance.

(m) Mr. *Nelson*, p. 281.

by his transgression, made void, not only for himself, but for his posterity also, who thereby became subject to the necessity of death, without any hopes of a resurrection. And this we learn, continued to be the case, till the publication of the gospel, or of the new covenant of eternal life, confirmed and established in our Saviour Christ.

For the propositions to be proved in these sermons, are, 1st, “ The soul of man subsists after death, and when it is dislodged from the body, hath a place of abode provided by God for it, till the resurrection of the body again. 2dly, “ The soul of every man, presently after death, hath its proper place and state, allotted by God, of happiness or misery, according as the man hath been good or bad in his past life (n).”

Now this soul must be understood to be indued with thought, perception, and consciousness, after the death of the body, otherwise it could not be sensible of happiness or misery: and as this subsistence is stated to be the condition of the soul of every man, independent of any covenant, it is natural to ask, of what use the covenant of life could be, which imported the utter extinction of man's life, without any reserve or exception to the life of the soul? If, therefore, I could believe that Bishop Bull had proved these two points, I must believe, that his account of the lapse of *Adam*, and the sentence pronounced upon him for his breach of the covenant of life, is a mere fiction;

(n) Two Sermons, published by Chappelow, p. 7. 8.

it being impossible that God should be the author of two contradictory and inconsistent dispensations. And I should certainly have thought, upon reading these sermons, that Bishop *Bull* had deserted his doctrine of the covenant of life, which he laid down in his *Harmony*, if Mr. *Nelson* had not apprised us, that the bishop still stuck to this covenant of life made with man in his state of innocency, in a discourse composed, as it should seem, long after these sermons (o).

As the Bishop, by his *first* proposition, subverts the doctrine of the covenant of life made with Adam, so by his *second*, he equally subverts the doctrine of the covenant of eternal life, confirmed and established in our Saviour Christ. That covenant imports a restoration to life by the way of a resurrection from the dead *only*, at an appointed day or time, of which the pledge and assurance to mankind is, the resurrection of Christ himself; and then and then only, are men to be judged in righteousness, and dealt with according to the deeds done in the body.

But here, in the bishop's second proposition, this restoration to life, and this judgment in righteousness, is not referred to any *future* or any *appointed* day, but are immediately consequent upon the death of the body, and that without respect to any covenant whatever, but as it were in the course of nature, or the ordinary course of God's providence, which would have brought things about

(o) *Nelson*, p. 536.

just as the preacher represents them, though Adam and Christ had not existed.

Is it credible, that God, having *allotted* and *provided* a place or state for every man's separate soul respectively, with a portion of happiness or misery to each, according as the man had been good or bad in his past life?—Is it credible, I say, that the same just and wise God should have made a covenant with Adam the first man, previous to his transgression, that he should *surely* or *utterly* die, in case of such transgression, without the least mention of any place or state for his separate soul? Is it credible, that after inflicting pains and penalties upon some, and conferring happiness upon others, according to their obedience or transgression respectively, *presently after death*, the same good and wise God, should, in virtue of another covenant, appoint a future day of judgment and retribution, merely for the purpose of augmenting the happiness or misery of these objects of his wrath or his mercy respectively, and that without any new instances either of their obedience or their transgression?

It is true, the bishop means to distinguish between the life of the separate soul, and the life to be restored at the resurrection, the one being a life inherent in the soul, the other a life which is the effect of a positive covenant. But to what purpose a covenant for *any* life, when there was a life already secured to man by nature, not controlled by any covenant, which answers all the ends of life proposed by a resurrection?

The bishop says in his *Harmony*, that “ all the

“ children of Adam, as such, are the children of
 “ death, that is, excluded wholly from all promise
 “ of immortal life, and are subjected to the neces-
 “ sity of death, without any hopes of a resurrec-
 “ tion.”

But of what consequence is it, if they have immortal life by *nature*, whether they have it by *promise* or not? What does it signify, whether they have hopes of a resurrection or not, if they are sure of a life by *provision* and *allotment*, without a resurrection?

When Bishop Bull sets about the proof of his first proposition, he says, “ This proposition I shall
 “ manage so, as to prove it chiefly by *testimonies of*
 “ *scripture* (p).” The proposition is, *The soul of man subsists after death, &c.* as above. Accordingly, in quoting and urging the texts that he supposes tend to prove his point, he has such words as these. *In the Old Testament we have a full testimony given to this truth.—The New Testament very often, and most expressly delivers the same doctrine.*

But according to his Editor, Mr. Chappelow, the bishop was mistaken in this matter. For thus he states and answers an objection to the usual scripture-proofs in favour of the separate subsistence of the soul.

“ As to scripture, it is suggested, no sufficient
 “ argument can be drawn from thence to prove,
 “ that the soul continues in a thinking state, when
 “ separated from the body. To which it may be

(p) P. 8.

“ answered,

“ answered, that the reason why we do not find in
 “ those sacred writings, particular arguments to
 “ prove the truth of this doctrine, is, because
 “ there was no occasion for them. For to what
 “ purpose need we have recourse to arguments,
 “ when in the tenour of any discourse or subject
 “ that is treated of, the doctrine it self is all along
 “ supposed and taken for granted.”

But there is a wide difference between taking a doctrine for granted, and proving it by *express testimony*. According to Mr. *Chappelow*, the scriptures only *suppose* and *take for granted*, the doctrine of the separate existence of the soul. According to Bishop *Bull*, the scriptures give full testimony to it, and expressly deliver it.

Mr. *Chappelow* borrowed his answer to the objection he states, from Archbishop *Tillotson*, who, in one of his sermons on *Heb. xi. 6.* says, “ I do not
 “ find, but that these also” [the immortality of the soul and a future state] “ are rather supposed, than
 “ expressly revealed in the bible.” Bishop *Bull*, it seems, was of a different opinion; and indeed the good archbishop seems to be aware that he had gone rather too far, for he immediately adds, “ In-
 “ deed the immortality of the soul may be inferred
 “ from several places of scripture, and the tenour
 “ of the whole bible.” Of these inferences his Grace gives several examples in the extracts from his other sermons, selected in this pamphlet of Mr. *Chappelow*. It is indeed astonishing that a man of sense should be driven to go so far, as the archbishop does in these extracts, for his inferences,
 when

when his premisses might be found in the tenour of the whole bible. But the case was, that this eminent and worthy prelate had puzzled himself in the sermon on *Heb. xi. 6.* by confounding the ideas of immortality and a future state, as revealed in the scriptures, with the ideas of immortality and a future state, as discovered by what he calls *the light of nature*, which are as different as light and darkness.

But Mr. *Chappelow* wisely avoided giving us any extracts from *this* sermon, being aware of the examination it had undergone, and how little adapted it was to support the reasoning of the archbishop in these extracts (q).

It is remarkable, how these two eminent Divines, *Bull* and *Tillotson*, apply their system to the confutation of the Popish Purgatory. It is not sufficient for them to guard against the doctrine of Purgatory being grafted on their hypothesis, but they will needs have it, that their doctrine of an intermediate state, militates directly against the doctrine of Purgatory. Their chief argument is, that the souls of good men are represented in scripture, to be in a state of happiness immediately upon their departure from the body, which the papists themselves allow to be the case with those, upon whom (to use a phrase of the late Dr. *Jortin*) the church hath conferred ecclesiastical knighthood,

(q) See Remarks upon a paragraph in one of Archbishop *Tillotson's* sermons, p. 60, of a pamphlet intituled, *No Proof in the Scriptures of an intermediate State*, &c. In answer to Mr. *Goddard's* Sermon, &c. Printed for *Bladon*, 1756.

commonly called faintship. But what must become of those who are neither good enough to be immediately happy, nor bad enough to be finally miserable? which I think are the sort of mortals for whose accommodation the Papists (according to Bishop *Burnet*) contrived these purgatorial mansions. Bishop *Bull* should have laid down a third proposition, in order to shew, that such as these were in some *neutral* place or state, as not belonging to either class of those to whom happiness or misery is allotted respectively.

It is not my intention to examine how Bishop *Bull*, the Doctors *Tillotson*, *Whitby*, and *Smallridge*, make out their theory from the texts they cite, and from which they reason (*r*). I shall only make a remark or two upon Bishop *Bull*'s and Mr. *Chapelown*'s interpretation of the text of these sermons, viz. ACTS i. 25. *That he might go to his own place.*

Bishop *Bull*, in the first place, rejects the reading of those who put the words, ἐξ ἧς παρεβη Ἰουδας, in a parenthesis, and who consequently interpret the word, τοπον, of the place [the apostleship] which *Matthias* was elected to fill.

I agree with Dr. *Bull* in this opinion, because I think the construction of the passage will not admit of the parenthesis; nor can I possibly see how τοπος ιδιος, or if you will, δικαιος, can be here spoken of the apostleship which *Matthias* was elected to fill in the room of another. For if the place was *his own*, or a place due to him *of right*, as the

(*r*) They are all of them explained by the Bishop of *Carlisle* in his *Appendix*.

word, *δικαιος*, seems to imply, why was he not chosen to fill it at the first?

This interpretation, however, shews, that these learned and worthy persons, (among whom was Dr. *Hammond*,) who espoused it, were a little shocked at the common interpretation, which consigned *Judas* immediately to a place of torment, supposing, and very justly, that the apostles would pass no such peremptory sentence upon him.

But I should not reject this interpretation, as Bishop *Bull* does, on account of its supposing or implying, that “every apostle had his distinct and “proper place and province in the apostleship.” It is true, as the bishop very justly observes, “the “apostleship and every part of it, was common to “every apostle, who might do all the same things “in any place that any other apostle did.” But *τοπος* might here signify, not any part or province of the apostleship as such, but the place, region, or country, in which a particular apostle should be allotted to preach the gospel, and exercise his ministry, as the practice was, when the apostles were afterwards dispersed into the several provinces of *Greece* and *Italy*, nor does it all avail to say, as the bishop does, “Sure I am, there was no such distinction of Provinces at the time of this election; “for then the apostles executed the same office all “in the same place and country, among the Jews, “to whom alone they were *at first* to preach the “gospel:” For the words of the text, *πορευθηναι εἰς τον τονον, τον ιδιον*, would relate evidently to a future migration, if this exposition was right, and not only

only to the time of the election; and of this migration the apostles would be sufficiently aware, from the warning given them by Christ himself, v. 8.—*And ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judæa, and in Samaria, and UNTO THE UTTERMOST PART OF THE EARTH.*

This exposition then being laid aside, the words, *τοπὸν ἰδίου*, must belong to *Judas*, and are, by the bishop, made to signify, *the place and state of lost reprobate spirits, and damned souls.*

To support his opinion, he first quotes the Alexandrine Manuscript, which instead of *ἰδίου*, reads *δικαίου*. But this is the single authority for that reading, and is not now of that reputation as in the days of the good bishop. However we shall see presently, that even the word *δικαίος* does not necessarily denote what the bishop would have it, in this passage.

In the next place, he builds upon the sense in which some of the Fathers, *Polycarp, Clemens Romanus, Barnabas, Ignatius, Irenæus, &c.* use the words, *τοπος ἰδίου, τοπος ὀφειλομένου, ὠρισμένου, &c.* and these being men of the apostolic age, must, he thinks, know what the apostles meant by an expression which was then commonly used to signify *a man's going presently after death, into his proper place and state, either of happiness or misery, according to the life which he had before lived.*

1. But, in the first place, the bishop had no right to foist in the word *presently*, for no such word appears in any of the passages he hath cited.

2. None of these citations speak of the migration of
of

of the *separate soul*, but of the migration of the man, and may therefore refer to the general resurrection. The quotation from *Ignatius*, fairly cited, runs thus, *Seeing therefore that all things have an end, two things are proposed, or laid down, Life and Death, and every one will hereafter go to his own place(s)*. That is to say, when the end of all things shall arrive; alluding probably to 1. Pet. iv. 7. But the bishop thought it not so well to give us the first part of the sentence.

3. It is not necessary to suppose that these Fathers were infallible interpreters of the apostles. Many of them entertained Jewish and even Pagan ideas of futurity. The Rabbins, speaking of *Balaam*, who is said, *Numbers xxiv. 25.* to go to *his own place*, determine *this place* to be *Gehenna*. And upon *Job ii. 11.* where it is said that *Job's* three friends *came every one from his own place*, this is their comment, *Non scriptum est ex domo suâ, aut, ex urbe suâ, aut, ex terra suâ, sed, ex loco, qui munitus erat illis in Gehenna, expulsi et liberati sunt.* Again, upon *Eccles. vi. 6.* *Do not all go to one place?* The gloss of the *Targum* is, *Die mortis suæ descendit anima ejus in Gehennam, in locum unum, quo omnes peccatores abeunt (t).*

This is precisely *Bishop Bull's* sense of the case of *Judas*, and might possibly be the sense of some

(s) Επει ουν τελος τα πραγματα εχει, επικειται τα δυο ομου ο τε θανατος και η ζων, και εκασος εις τον ιδιον τοπον, μελλει χωρειν.

(t) Vid. Wetstein. in *Acta.* 1. 25.

of

of these primitive fathers, but no man shall persuade me it was the sense of the apostles, who had heard their master say so much of the *time* of punishing the wicked, and rewarding the righteous; which they would hardly think was dispensed with, for the sake of hastening the punishment of *Judas*, notwithstanding the enormity of his transgression; concerning which, more in its place.

I cannot but observe here, that many of our commentators, besides those who apply *τοπος* to the apostleship, are tender of sending *Judas* immediately to his punishment, among these are *Erasmus*, *Grotius*, and *Le Clerc*, who all of them agree in expounding the passage, by *a place fitter for him than the apostleship*, without determining what place that was (u). But *Bengelius* furnishes an hint which bids the fairest to lead us out of the Labyrinth, and contributes much to confirm the maxim, that the scriptures are the best explainers of themselves.

This commentator refers us back to v. 18, where we read, *ὁυτος μὲν οὖν ἐκλήσατο χωριον ἐκ μισθου τῆς ἀδικίας.* *e. q. s.* (x) *Wetstein* says this verse is no part of *Peter's* speech, but an explanatory observation of *Luke the Historian*, and consequently should be read in

(u) *Idior*, i. e. *proprium*, velut ante occupasset alienum. *Eras.* qui ipsi melius conveniebat quam apostolica functio. *Grot.* ou il méritoit d'être, plutôt que parmi les Apôtres. *Le Clerc.*

(x) *Bengelius's* note is this. *In locum plane proprium, divisum a ceteris apostolis, quæsierat idior, proprium quiddam; v. 18. proprium locum, superstitum oculos fugientem, in regione mortis nactus est. Gnom.*

a parenthesis (y). Be that as it may, the word ἐκλήσατο points out this *field* for the τοπος ιδιος of Judas; *His own possession*, which, after all his endeavours he could not alienate by returning the money (z). Nor will it alter the case if we should read, with the *Alexandrine Manuscript*, τοπος δικαιος, for δικαιος is a *forinsec* term, and is frequently applied in the scriptures to *legal rights and claims*. See *Matth.* xx. 4. *Eph.* vi. 1. *Col.* iv. 1. where undoubtedly the word refers to the laws made to enforce the obedience of children to their parents, and to ratify covenants made between man and man. And so according to the ideas of those times, *Aeldama* was the legal property of Judas, his δικαιος τοπος, or δικαιον χωριον, even after he was dead; and more especially as his dead carcase had taken possession of it by burial (a).

Limborch's paraphrase is this, *In horrendum illud exitium quod sceleri ipsius justé debebatur*, for which he certainly had no authority from the apostle's words.

I must own it hath ever appeared to me, that the Divines, who have so peremptorily decided on the fate of Judas, have been too rash in their judgment, and have not sufficiently allowed for the boundless mercies of God to sinful man. Whe-

(y) *Weststen.* in locum.

(z) Ἐκτησατο χωριον, acquisivit agrum, (Sc. Judas) quæ de eo dicuntur, habita, non voluntatis, sed eventus ratione. *Pasor* in voce κταομαι. Ed. 1717.

(a) See the authorities brought by *Wetstein* from prophane authors, upon verse 18.

ther the arguments they use, conclude for the *final* condemnation of Judas or not, it will not follow from them, that the passage in question refers to it; those arguments are chiefly taken from what our Saviour says of this treacherous Apostle, from whence, perhaps, his fellow Apostles did not draw the same consequences that we are apt to do in these days.

1. Our Lord denounces a *wo* upon him (*b*). But so does he likewise upon others, whom we cannot suppose he meant to consign to eternal misery.

2. He adds, *it had been good for him, if he had not been born*. But this likewise is said in the scriptures of some, on account of the bitterness of their afflictions, and of others who had reaped nothing from a life of prosperity, but vanity here, and oblivion hereafter (*c*).

3. Our Saviour calls him likewise, *The son of perdition*, ὁ υἱὸς ἀπολείας; but so does *Isaiab* call the idolatrous Jews, but with plain intimations in the context, that there was room left for their repentance and restoration to favour. Besides our Saviour does not seem to mean here *eternal perdition*, but a *violent and immature death*, in consequence of being his follower; when he says of his Apostles, that he had *kept* them all, except *Judas*; he means, kept them from being put to death or destroyed in this world; but that *Judas* a son of *perdition* was not so kept, that *the scripture might be fulfilled*. This scripture is quoted by *St. Peter*, *Acts* i. 20. but not a

(*b*) *Matth.* xxvi. 24. *Mark* xiv. 21.

(*c*) See *Job* iii. 10, 11, 12. and *Eccles.* vi. 3.

word in it, of any *perdition* but of the *temporal* kind.

4. “ But *Judas* destroyed himself with his own hands, which shewed his desperation, and consequently, his final condemnation.” I deny the fact, and require more explicit proof of it than hath yet been given. *St. Peter*, or if you will, *St. Luke*, gives a different account of his death, and appeals for the notoriety of it to all *Jerusalem*. And this account is totally inconsistent with the sense which translators, critics, and commentators have given of the word *ἁπνυξάλο* (*d*), and some of them have even made themselves ridiculous by their several schemes of reconciliation.

In this I have *Daniel Heinsius* for my voucher, whom I have never yet seen, nor expect to see, confuted. It was indeed attempted by the younger *Gronovius* (*e*), but without success, as he failed in reconciling the suicide of *Judas*, supposed to be signified by the word *ἁπνυξάλο*, with the account of his fate in *Acts*, which the historian tells us, was

(*d*) See *Grotius* in loc.

(*e*) In a tract intituled, *Jacobi I. F. F. Gronovii Exercitationes Academicæ, de pernicio et casu Judæ τοῦ προδοτοῦ*. *Lugd. Batav.* 1683. Having said, with respect to the word *ἁπνυξάλο*, that it never signifies any thing but strangling with a rope, he adds, *Absit ut tot laborum qui ad illustrandas linguas impensi sunt, non alius sit fructus, nisi ut tantum dici possit, hujus et illius vocis hanc videri significationem esse, non vero certe possimus adfirmare, hanc et non illam esse*. On which confidence in his critical infallibility, *Mr. Bayle* rallies him with some humour. *Nouv. de la Republ. des Lettres.* May, 1684. p. 281.

notorious

notorious to all Jerusalem, and this *Grotius* confesses, will not consist with the supposition that *Judas* laid violent hands upon himself (*f*).

But

(*f*) In *Matth.* xxvii. 5. None of the critics I have met with pay sufficient attention to the words which precede ἀπνυξάλο. They stand thus, ἀνεχώρησε, καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἀπνυξάλο, which our translators very imperfectly render, *departed, and went and hanged himself*. ἀναχωρεῖν does not mean simply *to depart*, and in this passage the word so taken is tautological—He departed and departed, or, He went and went. It is translated better in other places, by *turned aside, give place, or retire, withdrew himself*; and in the lxx *Num.* xvi. 24. we have, ἀναχωρησάτε κυκλῶ ἀπο τῆς συναγωγῆς κορε. *Get ye up from about, &c.* Engl. *Ascendite a circuitu tabernaculi, &c.* Arias Montanus. *Ut separetur a congregatione.* Vulg. And agreeably to this meaning, *H. Stephens* gives, *Regredior, Secedo, Recedo, Redeo.* And *Bengelius* speaking of the *Magi*, *Matth.* ii. 12. explains the word by, *itinere seorsim flexo.* *Valla* translates it by *secessit*, and rejects the rendering of the vulgate, *recessit*, and *Erasmus* observes, that this is right, and says, *Dicti Anachroritæ, ex secessu.* In *Matth.* xii. 15. We are informed by *Cunæus*, that persons afflicted, and Penitents, took a *circuit* on entering into and going out of the temple, different from others. *Qui in luctu fuere, quive ejecti ex Judæorum communione erant, — iis circuitio facienda a sinistra, dextrorsum fuit.* *De Repub. Hebr.* ii. 13. And see *Wetstein* on *Job.* ix. 22. In this sense, and to denote this action, *St. Matthew* seems to have used the word ἀνεχώρησε, and ἀπελθὼν should have been rendered, *going away, in actione abeundi, ἀπνυξάλο, suffocatus est*; He was suffocated, not by any voluntary and deliberate act of his own, but by the effect of his extreme grief and remorse; in which case the accidents mentioned, *Acts* i. 18, might happen as attendants upon that kind of death, and this catastrophe falling out, either in the temple, or in some public street, *became known to all the inhabitants of Jerusalem*, which could not have been the case,

But however all this may be, it will do little towards the support of Bp. *Bull*'s interpretation of *τοπος ιδιος*. I shall therefore bid adieu to his Lordship, and his editor Mr *Chappelow*.

C H A P. XIX.

The controversy between Messieurs Jurieu and Saurin.

Jurieu's objection to the philosophical proof of the soul's immortality. Saurin's answer. Disliked and rectified by Mr Bayle. The proof still imperfect. A conjecture why Saurin left his answer short. Further remarks on that answer.

1692. *B*ETWEEN the years 1692 and 1694, Messieurs *Jurieu* and *Saurin* were engaged in much theological altercation on various subjects; and among other things incidentally, on the proof of the natural immortality of the soul. *Jurieu* charged *Saurin* with latitudinarian principles, in ascribing too much to *reason*, and the principles of natural religion, in demonstrating the truths of the Christian scheme,

had the man retired to some unfrequented corner to put an end to his life, as most suicides, even lunatics, are apt to do. *Raphelius*. Annot. Philolog. [in N. T. ex *Polybio* et *Arriano* collect. p. 102] endeavouring to moderate between *Gronovius* and *Perizonius*, seems to me to have left the matter just where he found it. For though he leans to the side of *Gronovius* in giving the sense of *απνυξάλο*, yet it is plain that in some of his authorities, particularly those from *Xenophon* and *Arrian*, it is equally disputable whether the word means a voluntary or involuntary suffocation, as in the passage of St. *Matthew*. Nor, be that how it may, do these instances at all invalidate those brought by *Perizonius*.

which

which Mr *Jurieu* considered as points of *faith*. With respect to the immortality of the soul, he saith, “that though he himself believed, that matter is not “capable of any sensation or knowledge, yet he “had no distinct idea, no clear perception of that “truth, nor could he prove it to those who should “deny it. What I perceive in it,” says he, “is “confused and indistinct. Can Mr. *Saurin* and his “*rational* colleagues say in conscience, that they “have a clear conception, and distinct idea of the “immortality of the soul? (g)

Saurin answers, “I have a clear perception and “a distinct idea of the immortality of the soul. I “know that the soul is a spiritual and indivisible “substance, which can only be destroyed by anni- “hilation.—Must a christian philosopher be less or- “thodox than *Plato*? Must he give the preference “to *Epicurus*, when he draws up a parallel of the “ancient philosophers?”

Every one knows in how many instances *Saurin* was victorious in his disputes with *Jurieu*. Every one knows too, that *Bayle* omitted no opportunity of exhibiting *Saurin* in his triumphal carr, with the unfortunate *Jurieu* bound to the wheels of it. In the present case, however, Mr. *Bayle* is candid enough to acknowledge, that *Saurin*’s answer is weak and impertinent, and therefore he [*Bayle*] undertakes to rectify it.

“Mr. *Jurieu*,” says he, “plainly supposes that “in order to have a distinct idea of the spirituality

(g) *Bayle* POMPONACE. [F]

“ of the soul, we must clearly apprehend that mat-
 “ ter is not capable of any sensation or knowledge.
 “ How comes it then that Mr. *Saurin* leaves this
 “ unanswered? Should he not have said, that he
 “ has a distinct idea, and clear perception, whereby
 “ he knows that an extended substance cannot have
 “ any sensation?”

But how would this have mended the matter? For this, at best, is but a *negative* idea, importing that Mr. *Saurin* knew not that extended substance can have any sensation: and he would certainly have been told that his *ignorance* of the capability of corporeal or extended substance for thought and sensation, could never exhibit to him a clear and distinct idea of the spirituality of the soul. Mr. *Saurin* was therefore in the right to affirm *positively*, that he had a clear and distinct idea of the immortality of the soul, without entering into particulars. This put the question entirely upon Mr. *Saurin's* powers of conception, of which no other person could be a judge. No one could contradict him, any more than if he had affirmed, that he distinctly conceived the sun to be a large globe of ice.

Mr. *Bayle* goes on. “ 2. It is not sufficient to
 “ to know that the soul cannot be destroyed but by
 “ annihilation, for the same may be said of extension,
 “ and yet trees and beasts are mortal. Mr. *Saurin*
 “ should therefore have expressed himself thus. *I*
 “ know the soul cannot subsist without thought; the
 “ distinct idea I have of a thinking substance teaches
 “ me, that if it were deprived of thought, it would cease
 “ to exist.”

But

But would not *Jurieu* have immediately asked him, whether he was conscious that his soul thought in the profoundest sleep? And whether, without this consciousness, he could be sure that the soul *always* thinks? This however Dr. *Watts* himself, who ventures as much for his hypothesis as any man, durst not affirm; but contents himself with saying, "that the soul *may* think in the profoundest sleep, and yet the remembrance (*i.e.* the consciousness) of that thinking, *may*, to the waking man, be utterly lost (*b*)."
Jurieu would have laughed at *Saurin* for pretending to have a distinct idea of a substance, whose existence depended upon a circumstance impossible to be ascertained.

But most probably, *Saurin*, whatever he might think, had *another* reason for not answering in the manner suggested by Mr. *Bayle*. To say that the soul ceases to be as soon as it is deprived of thought, is to place the substance of the soul in the *actus cogitandi*, after the *Cartesians*, who had occasionally been pressed by their adversaries so far, as to find themselves obliged to acknowledge, that the *actus cogitandi*, stood in need of such immediate and continual support from God, as amounted to a continual creation.

And here the *Remonstrants* struck in, and demanded, how God could be continually creating the *actus cogitandi*, without being the immediate author of *evil* as well as *good* thoughts (*i*)?

What would *Jurieu* have said, had *Saurin* given

(*b*) *Essays* 8vo. 1733. p.

(*i*) *Curcellæus* Rel. Christ. Instit. lib. iii. cap. 2. sect. 9.

this opening to the common enemy? 'Tis true Mr. *Saurin*, by his tergiversation, subjected himself to a suspicion, that his clear and distinct idea of the soul was nothing better than an idea formed upon an argument *ab ignoto*. But this was a small matter in comparison of the clamours of a confistory, inflamed by *Jurieu's* remonstrances. Mr. *Saurin* therefore acted *wisely* in touching the philosophical argument as tenderly as possible; and in shielding himself in the moral argument, drawn from the divine justice, unequal distributions, &c. even though he could not be ignorant, that these principles equally favoured the restitution of the *whole man*, after a period of insensibility; and have indeed no particular tendency to illustrate those physical qualities upon which the natural immortality of the soul is supposed to depend.

“Must a christian philosopher,” says Mr. *Saurin*, “be less orthodox than *Plato*?” Was *Plato's* philosophy then, and the christian philosophy taught in the New Testament, the same? So it seems thought Mr. *Saurin*, in this point at least; and so indeed have thought most of the curators of *orthodoxy*, from the reign of LEO X. to this present moment.

C H A P. XX.

Mr Locke's controversy with Bp. Stillingfleet. The Bishop's objection to Locke's position. Mr Locke's reply. The compilers of Biographia Britannica censured. Pretended demonstrations of the natural immortality subversive of the Christian doctrine. Mr Locke's Reasonableness of Christianity, commended.

BUT about the year 1697, upon occasion of Mr 1697.
Locke's dispute with Bp. Stillingfleet, christian ~
philosophy began to be a little better understood. Mr.
Locke had said, that the immateriality of the soul
 could not be demonstrated. The bishop alledged,
 that such a supposition lessened the credibility of the
 immortality of the soul. Mr. *Locke* replied, that,
 “ that was to suppose, that divine revelation abates
 “ of its credibility in all those articles it proposes,
 “ proportionably as human reason fails to support
 “ the testimony of God. Your Lordship,” con-
 tinues Mr *Locke*, “ says, you do not question whe-
 “ ther God can give immortality to a material sub-
 “ stance: but you say, it takes off very much from
 “ the evidence of immortality, if it depends wholly
 “ on God's giving that which of its own nature it
 “ is not capable of. To which I reply, any one's
 “ not being able to demonstrate the soul to be im-
 “ material, takes off not very much, nor at all from
 “ the evidence of its immortality, if God has re-
 “ vealed that it shall be immortal; because the ve-
 “ racity of God, is a demonstration of the truth of
 “ what he has revealed: and the want of another
 “ demon-

“ demonstration of a proposition that is demon-
 “ strably true, takes not off from the evidence of
 “ it. For where there is a clear demonstration,
 “ there is as much evidence as any truth can have
 “ that is not self-evident (*k*).”

The compiler of Mr. *Locke's* article in the *Bio-
 graphia Britannica*, who seems to have an *inbred*
 aversion to Mr. *Locke's* political, as well as theologi-
 cal principles, calls this a *sophism*, and says, that
 “ *Locke* substitutes here the veracity of God, in-
 “ stead of scripture-evidence, which only amounts
 “ to high probability.”

But the critic forgot that Mr. *Locke* was here dis-
 puting, not with a *sceptic* or an *infidel*, but with a
christian bishop, who acknowledged the scripture to
 be a really *divine revelation*, and nothing can be
 more disgraceful to the memory of Dr. S. than to
 suppose, after all he has written on the subject, that
 he considered the scriptural evidence for christianity,
 as amounting only to *high probability*. But for this
 malevolence the Biographer hath been chastised
 elsewhere (*l*). But what is it these demonstrators
 would

(*k*) Essay on Hum. Understanding, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 155.
 ed. 1715.

(*l*) See a pamphlet intituled, *A Review of some passages in
 the last edition of The Divine Legation of Moses* demonstra-
 ted; printed for R. Baldwin, in Pater-noster Row, 1760, pag.
 64, 65. The *Jacobites* of the last age received the scriptures,
 and many things of less value, as of divine authority, on the
sole testimony of the *church*. But *Bolingbroke*, their guide,
philosopher, and friend, having deserted this stronghold, they
 seem to attend him in these last days, with equal eagerness
 into

would be at? Will they pretend that they can demonstrate the immateriality of the human soul? One of them indeed has undertaken it; and on that score, has merited a fulsome elogium from a noted doctor who need not be named; but with this most unlucky drawback, “that the immateriality of the souls of brutes may be demonstrated by the very same process,” and consequently the immortality of brutes proved by the very same medium.

On another hand, when you have demonstrated the immateriality of the human soul, what is it to the purpose of proving its *consciousness*, unless you can demonstrate that the immaterial soul, *as such, always thinks*? But this, I presume, the most sanguine Cartesian of the present *age*, would not answer for. And what moral purpose can it answer, or indeed what purpose at all, to prove the immortality of a soul whose consciousness, for ought that appears to the contrary, may be suspended for an indefinite number of ages.

It has always appeared to me extremely strange that Christian divines should have been so zealous for these metaphysical arguments for the natural immortality, which, if I understand the scriptures, are by no means consistent with the account those sacred records give us of the immortality of MAN.

The doctrine of the New Testament is, that men into the regions of infidelity. Whether our *Biographers* are of this clan I presume not to determine. Let their works speak for them.

shall

shall become immortal by the way of a resurrection of the dead, a restoration of the whole man to life; and the *N. T.* is so far from acknowledging any intermediate consciousness in man, between death and the resurrection, that it always speaks of that interval as a *sleep*, which implies a suspension of the thinking faculty, a rest from those labours, which require thought, memory, consciousness, &c. during which those faculties are *useless*.

But this is not all. The scriptural system of immortality, supposes that man had forfeited his original title to immortality, and would never have recovered it, but for the interposition of a redeemer. The consequence of this doctrine is, that between the time of the forfeiture, and the actual appearance of the Redeemer, the dead could have life in no sense at all: and that neither before, nor after the appearance of the Redeemer, dead men were, or would be restored to life, otherwise than in the way revealed by the Redeemer, namely a resurrection of the dead.

Hence to suppose the souls of dead men to be alive, conscious, and active, and capable of happiness and misery, from the death of the first man, to the resurrection of the very last, and to pretend to *demonstrate* this by reason and philosophy, is plainly to overturn the whole Christian system.

Pomponatius therefore was not so *insolent*, as Mr. le Noble would make him, when he said, that
 “ whoever went about to prove the immortality of
 “ the soul by philosophical arguments, does not de-
 “ serve

“serve the name of a christian (m).” We see there are good reasons for this censure. It was properly and justly turning the tables upon those who had dignified him with the name of *heretic* and *impious*.

Whoever carefully peruses Mr. *Locke's* Reasonableness of Christianity, will perceive, that the same conclusion may be drawn from the positions of that great man, who brought upon himself the irreconcilable enmity of Infidels and Bigots, as much perhaps by that immortal work, as by his metaphysical disquisitions. They first found themselves dislodged by it from their strong hold whence they had so long combated the *cui bono* of revelation, which however was a small matter with the artificial Theologists, who found their account so many different ways in the doctrine of the separate existence of the soul. A doctrine of which they are so extremely tenacious, that they fail not to impute infidelity, and even impiety to every one who attempts to deprive them of it, even upon the authority of scripture. Of which the next article affords a most remarkable example.

(m) Bayle. *Pomponace* (G) cit. 62.

C H A P. XXI.

Dr. Coward's book, intituled, Second Thoughts, &c. The Doctor's regard for the scriptures. Injuriously ranked among infidels. An account of his opponents. A conjecture why he was reputed an infidel. His argument taken from the Hypostatic Union. Dr. Coward a man of learning. A. Wood's account of him. A citation from his Ophthalmiatria. His answers to Mr. Turner and Mr. Broughton. And to others in his Grand Essay.

1702. *I*N the year 1702, Dr. William Coward, a Physician, under the fictitious name of *Estibius Psychalethes*, published a book intituled, *Second Thoughts concerning human soul, demonstrating the notion of human soul, as believed to be a spiritual, immortal substance united to human body, to be a plain heathenish invention, and not consonant to the principles of philosophy, reason, or religion.* [But the ground only of many absurd and superstitious opinions, abominable to the reformed churches, and derogatory in general to true Christianity] printed for R. Basset, at the Mitre, over against Chancery-Lane, Fleet-street (n).

This book the Doctor dedicated to the clergy of the church of *England*, professing at his setting out, “ that the main strefs of arguments, either to confound or support his opinion, must be drawn

(n) The words within the brackets are omitted in the title-page of the second edition, printed for *A. Baldwin*, near the *Oxford Arms Inn* in *Warwick Lane*. 1704.

“ from those only credentials of true and orthodox
 “ divinity, the lively oracles of God, the holy scrip-
 “ tures.” And again, in answer to the question,
Doth man die like a brute beast? he says, “ Yes, in
 “ respect of their end in this life ; both their deaths
 “ consist in a privation of life (for which he quotes
 “ *Eccles. iii. 19*). But then,” continues he, “ man
 “ has this prerogative or pre-eminence above a
 “ brute, that he will be raised to life again, and be
 “ made partaker of eternal happiness in the world
 “ to come.”

But notwithstanding these, and as many other proofs of a firm and serious attachment to the authority of the christian scriptures, as it is in any man's power to give under his hand, this same *Dr. Coward* has commonly made one in the list with, *Toland, Tindal, Collins, &c.* reputed to be the most rancorous and determined adversaries of Christianity. And such is the malignant nature of indiscriminate calumny, that some worthy persons of the present times, who think as *Coward* did, (though probably for reasons a little different from those he gives) have found themselves obliged to disown all acquaintance with him, and indeed have sufficiently made it appear (by the imperfect accounts they give of his book, retailed from informers who certainly never read it) that wherever they had their principles, or their materials, it could not be from *Dr. Coward* (o).

(o) See the learned *Mr. Peckard's* farther Observations, &c. P. 30, 31.

The Doctor, in his day, met with opponents of different complexions and abilities, among whom were Dr. *Nichols* (*p*), Mr. *John Broughton* (*q*), Mr. *John Turner* (*r*), &c. who, however different, with respect to their materials and manner of attack, all agreed that the Doctor was an *heretic*, and as such gave him no quarter. The reader will find an answer to this accusation in the next section. But *Coward* himself had obviated this charge more particularly, by shewing, that the opinion he held was not *heresy*, either by the Law of God, the ecclesiastical law of the land, or the common municipal law, as laid down by *Coke*, &c. and therefore calls the imputation of heresy in this case, “ a scandalous
“ *calumny* raised by *prejudice* and *ignorance* (*s*).”

I had often wondered, after reading Dr. *Coward's* *Second Thoughts*, what could be the motive of so many of our modern churchmen for charging this

(*p*) *Conference with a Theist*; concerning which, says a certain writer, “ I do not fully approve of our Doctor's manner of handling this point, in his usual manner of *dialogues*,
“ arguing in the names of divers several persons, because that
“ in such sort of arguing, the same person must always be
“ supposed to tell the tale and give the answer; and let the
“ strength of the argument fall upon which side it will, we
“ must always be sure that the knight must overcome the
“ giant.”

(*q*) *Psychologia*, or, An account of the nature of the rational soul, in two parts, by *John Broughton*, M. A. Lond. 1703.

(*r*) A *Vindication* of the separate existence of the soul from a late author's *Second Thoughts*. By *John Turner*, M. A. Lecturer of *Christ-Church*, London.

(*s*) *Second Thoughts*, 191—195 2^d. Edit. 1704.

writer

writer with *heresy*, and even ranking him with a set of infidels, till, talking one day on the subject with an eminent Divine, I was by him informed, that he was understood to have made free with the mystery of the *Hypostatic Union* of the two natures in Christ.

As this term is a little out of present use, being merely of the technical class, and of little importance, even to the orthodox, in the present times, the reader may be desirous to know what *Coward* said of it, which I shall therefore transcribe.

“ We account, and justly too, the *Hypostatic*
 “ *Union*, above the reach of our understanding, and
 “ the *Union of God and Man in Christ Jesus*, a Myf-
 “ tery worthy our adoration, and as a mystery, to
 “ demand our belief. Now, if the *modus* of that
 “ Union be *unconceivable* and *unintelligible* by our
 “ weak understanding, as unquestionably it is, I
 “ presume the grounds of it is from the inadequate
 “ conception we have, or can form to our selves,
 “ of the *conjunction* of *finite* with *infinite*, *material*
 “ with *immaterial*. But now by the doctrine of the
 “ *Psychomuthist*, that difficulty seems to be taken
 “ away, and it *ceases to be a mystery*, if we allow this
 “ conjunction of *body* and *soul* to be the *union of an*
 “ *immortal immaterial spirit*, to a *mortal material*
 “ *body*. Where is then the mystery of the *Hypo-*
 “ *static Union*? The union of the *soul* and *body*,
 “ no man ever yet allowed to be a *mystery of religion*,
 “ therefore either both must be reputed so, or nei-
 “ ther; which God forbid the *former* should not be
 “ believed to be so, by all good christians, as that
 N “ the

“the *latter* should give us grounds to question the
“former.”(t)

Whether *Coward* was in earnest in laying this
stumbling block in the road of the Pfychemuthists,
or no, it was certainly very provoking to reduce
them to the alternative here proposed. History will
inform us, what the consequence would be of rob-
bing the church of a *mystery* in these early days of
Queen *Anne*,(u) and there was no avoiding it, if an
easy, natural account could be given of the union
of an immaterial immortal substance, with a mate-
rial corruptible one, upon the principles of philoso-
phy. On another hand, the Hypostatic Union,
being the foundation on which Deity is ascribed
to *Christ* by the orthodox, and consequently on
which the worship paid to him is defended, if the
union of soul and body in mere man was to be put
upon the same *mystical* footing, the notion might
be productive of superstition, and be “an induce-
“ment,” as he says, to unwary souls, “to put up
“prayers for the dead, or to invoke saints de-
“ceased.”(x)

After all, these were but arguments *ad hominem*,
and the readers might think of Dr. *Coward*’s faith
as they chose, without doing much injustice to his
memory. Accordingly, while the zealous sons of
the church were treating the Doctor, as an *impious*
infidel, another gentleman, of a different persuasion
with respect to the Divinity of Christ, exclaims

(t) Second Thoughts, p. 152. 2^d. Editⁿ.

(u) 1702.

(x) Epistle Dedicatory.

against him as a bigotted *churchist*, evidently fond of *mystery*, (y) being affected in his turn, with the difficulties *Coward's* book had laid in the way of an hypothesis this gentleman had excogitated, of which some account will be given in the last chapter of this book.

Dr. *William Coward* was certainly a scholar, and hath left sufficient memorials of his learning in his own profession. *Anthony Wood*, mentions his tract, *de Fermento Volatili Nutritio*; and a Latin translation of Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel*. For the first of these pieces, he had an honourable approbation from the president and censors of the College of Physicians. For the other, he was, as *Wood* informs us, "schooled in the College [*Merton*]," whether publicly, or by particular persons, is not said. *Wood*, dying in 1695, had no opportunity of schooling him for his *Second Thoughts*, which came not out till seven years after. But it is somewhat extraordinary, that they who had the care of his posthumous pieces, should not give additional accounts of the authors who were living at Mr *A. Wood's* death, (of whom Dr. *Coward* was one,) as they could not want materials, and might have found scribes of sufficient industry and abilities to put them in order. Dr. *Coward* appears to have studied the scriptures, at least as far as related to his subject, with application, and hath exhibited every text alledged in favour of the natural immortality of

(y) See a Tract, intituled, *A Survey of the Search after Souls*, by Caleb Fleming, p. 22.

the soul, examining each of them fairly enough, but sometimes without that accuracy and precision, with which they have been since discussed.

In the year 1706, Dr. *Coward* published his tract intituled *Ophthalmiatria*, which he dedicated to his Patron *Manuel Sorrel*, Esq. In this dedication he compliments Mr. *Sorrel* as a man of learning and judgment, in whose approbation of his works he declares himself satisfied and happy, and enabled to despise the idle and profane mob of sciolists, whom certain *pious agents of sedition* had encouraged to calumniate him.(z)

There can be no doubt but he here means the herd of writers who attacked his *Second Thoughts*, and were so liberal of their abuse of the author.

In his first chapter, intituled, *De Oculo, ejusque Partibus*, speaking of the manner in which vision is performed and accounted for, he diverts himself with the notion of an *immaterial substance* residing in the pineal gland, by the help of which, he tells us, the philosophers of the day accounted for every phænomenon relating to sensation ; and having exposed this empty unphilosophical hypothesis, so far as it relates to vision ; he adds, that he hath said enough on the subject elsewhere, and exhorts the learned of all countries, to examine, thoroughly and candidly,

(z) Quæ scripsi, vir optime, novisti, et, ut opinor, legisti omnia, et cum judicii tam accurati trutina librata, et tam sagaci examine penitus excussa et approbata intellexerim, ignavum ego protinus, et profanum sciolorum vulgus odisse et arcere cepi, quod nonnulli *pii seditionis satellites* in me concitarent, ut ore pleno calumnias emugirent.

what

what absurd and ridiculous, and almost blasphemous opinions, follow from this doctrine of an *immaterial substance* ; hinting, that his domestic adversaries, not being able to confute him by reasoning, had endeavoured to silence him by fire and faggot.(a)

Dr. Coward, we may suppose, found a sufficient excuse in this temper of his adversaries, for suffering them to enjoy their own triumphs. He had one comfort indeed ; these *pious Satellites* could not, even in *Sacheverel's* days, plague a Physician, as they might a theological brother of their own order, and therefore contented themselves with giving him an ill name. One of them, however, ought to be excepted, namely, Mr *John Turner*, whose *vindication*, &c. written against the *Second Thoughts*, is called by Dr. Coward's partizans, *rational* and *moderate* ; and that probably induced the Doctor to reply to it in a pamphlet intituled, *Further Thoughts upon Second Thoughts*. He wrote afterwards his *Grand Essay*, proving, that an *immaterial substance*

(a) Sed de his fatis alibi scriptum est ; unice jam hujus solummodo voti compos fieri valde exopto (quoniam hic tractatus forsan ad externos perveniat) ut literatus aliquis, sive literatorum societas, bene perpendat, candide examinet, et penitus excutiat quam absurdæ, quam ridiculæ opiniones, tam philosopho quam Christiano indignæ, et tantum non in confinio blasphemix positæ, *Substantiæ istius immaterialis* notionem (Deo excepto) necessario consequantur ; quia confutari avidus fitio, et nonnullorum mos est veritatem quam pudet non posse argumentis refutare, fumo flammæque, (sicut apes sulphure suffocatæ) suppressere, et in solidæ ignorantix testimonium, populari aurâ ratiocinantibus oppedere. *Ophthalmiatria*, p. 28.

is a *philosophic imposture*, published in 1704, at the end of which is *An Epistolary Reply to Mr. Broughton's Psychologia*, from which we shall have occasion, by and by, to give an extract.

C H A P. XXII.

A short account of Henry Layton, Esq; author of A Search after Souls. His profession and studies. Not professedly Dr. Coward's advocate. His works little known. His answers to certain objections taken from the mischief arising from his writings. Of the same complexion with the objections of Papists against the writings of Protestants.

1706.  **D**R Coward had the good fortune to be second-
ed by a very able advocate, who replied separately and distinctly to the three writers above mentioned, not overlooking Mr. Turner's reply to *Second Thoughts*.

This advocate was *Henry Layton, Esq;* a gentleman of an ancient family, and a handsome estate at *Rawden*, in the county of *York*. His father is said to have been master of the jewel-office to *K. Charles I.* Henry his son was educated at *Oxford*, and afterwards at *Grays-Inn*, in the study of the Law, and was called to the Bar; but made no other use of his profession, (in which however he was very able) than to do good offices among his neighbours, without fee or reward.

His disposition led him to speculations of another kind, particularly to a long and laborious disquisition into the nature of the soul, chiefly with respect
to

to its *separate* existence; the evidence for and against which, he investigated with the utmost avidity of coming at the truth, examining every thing he could meet with, ancient and modern, on the subject; and having found reason to determine for the negative, he made no scruple of opposing the sentiments of some of the greatest heroes of his own time.

I have called this writer Dr. *Coward's* advocate; not that he was *professedly* such, but because, as he entered upon the controversy before *Coward*, so he pursued it after him, in confutation of those opponents whom *Coward's* book had set to work: declaring however, that he had no view but to the general question, without making himself answerable for *Coward's* arguments or expressions, or becoming bound by his or any other persons concessions or qualifying reserves. It is indeed doubtful whether he ever read *Coward's Second Thoughts*. It is certain, at least, that when he wrote his *Observations on Nichols's Conference with a Theist*, he did not know that *Estibius*, one of the speakers in it, was the name subscribed by *Coward* to the dedication of his *Second Thoughts*; but rather seems to have imagined, that himself was the person intended by *Nichols* to be confuted under that appellation.

I have been the more particular in this account of Mr. *Layton*, as it is probable his works, though printed in two volumes quarto, were never formally published, or exposed to sale under the patronage of a Bookseller; and I am inclined to believe, that the few copies now to be met with, were

originally presents to his friends. He complains in one place, that he could not procure an *imprimatur* for his observations on Dr. *Bentley's* second sermon at *Boyle's* lecture. And as the rest of his pieces have in them the same *heretical taint*, we may suppose that they stole into light through some private press. It is hardly accountable otherwise, that a writer of Mr. *Layton's* learning and abilities, should have remained for so long a time in such obscurity, that it is questionable whether his name or writings were ever mentioned in any printed book, before Dr. *Fleming* undertook to give an account of them, as the works of Dr. *Coward*.(a)

As Mr. *Layton* considers and answers every argument that had then been advanced in behalf of the immortality of the soul, at full length, there is no giving an abstract of his disquisitions within any reasonable compass: I shall therefore only exhibit one or two of his answers to such popular reasons as his friends offered, by way of deterring him from an undertaking that was likely to be so offensive to the million.

“ You say, (says he, to one of them) *The opinion*
“ *is bold, singular, and heretical.*

“ That there is a degree of boldness and singu-
“ larity in it, I do not deny; but I say it is not so
“ great a degree of either as I took it to be when I
“ writ my treatise, witness the many quotations,
“ reported in this writing. It fared with me as it
“ did with *Elijah*, who thought he was the only
“ true servant which God had in *Israel*; but it was

(a) In his *Survey of a Search after Souls*.

“ revealed

“ revealed to him, that there were seven thousand
 “ such left in *Israel*, although he knew nothing of
 “ them.

“ To the word *heretical*, I read in K. *James* the
 “ first his Apology, fol. 302. of his works, *That*
 “ *he thought himself acquitted of that charge, by his*
 “ *professing to believe the scripture, and the three most*
 “ *ancient Creeds ; his submission to the four first great or*
 “ *general Councils, and to what the Fathers of the first*
 “ *five hundred years did agree upon as necessary to salvation.*

“ Here are *your* rules for examination of heresies,
 “ and none of these trials do I refuse. But till
 “ proofs rise from some of these grounds, my an-
 “ swer to this expression shall be the words of *Mo-*
 “ *ses*. Numb. xvi. 7. [*Ye take too much upon you, ye*
 “ *sons of Levi.*]

“ — You say, *The opinion opens a gap to Athe-*
 “ *ism, and Disobedience ; and encourages men to prefer*
 “ *their private fancies, before the wisdom and authority*
 “ *of the Church.*

“ To this I say, Our primitive Reformers have
 “ (in answer to their Popish superiors) fully answer-
 “ ed this objection ; and to them I refer you for an
 “ answer, with this addition, that if your propo-
 “ sition were irrefragable, errors grown general,
 “ would prove irremediable.

“ You say, *The opinion tends to promote vice, and*
 “ *that the soul's separate subsistence is the strongest foun-*
 “ *dation of piety and religion.*

“ But I cannot grant any of these consequences
 “ to be necessary or probable ; but do say, that our
 “ Lord's direction, *to fear God who can both kill and*
 “ *cast*

“ *cast into hell*, stands firm and unshaken : and the
 “ passing an intermediate time betwixt death and
 “ judgment, (which time to the dead is nothing)
 “ doth no way infeeble the certainty of future re-
 “ wards and punishments ; but places the expecta-
 “ tion of them upon a right and a firm foot or
 “ foundation, maintained by a concurrent testimo-
 “ ny throughout the scripture, and fortified by the
 “ articles of our several Creeds ; a truth of which,
 “ since Christ’s time, there never was any doubt ;
 “ nor can be by any who do acknowledge the au-
 “ thority of the scripture.

“ You say, *Men may except against the resurrection*
 “ *also*. And I grant it : for some do it daily, a-
 “ gainst the Being or Government of the Deity.
 “ But this doth not strengthen your inference, that,
 “ because men question and explode an opinion
 “ which appears to be not well grounded, there-
 “ fore they will do the same by another opinion
 “ that is well grounded, and founded upon a rock.

“ True it is, that our churches, for about the
 “ last 1200 years, have been so possess’d with the
 “ conceit of a separately subsisting soul, that they
 “ have made little use of *the resurrection* in their ex-
 “ hortations. And in truth, if the soul, parting
 “ from the body, go presently to heaven or hell,
 “ our article of the resurrection, can be but of small
 “ use in the church. If souls get amongst blessed
 “ angels in heaven, what need can there be to
 “ them of a resurrection ? It seems rather a loss
 “ and harm to them to enter again into bodies,
 “ and come out of heaven to inhabit on earth a-
 “ gain,

“ gain, although it be a new earth, *wherein dwells*
 “ *righteousness*. There have been testimonies all a-
 “ long in the church against the separate subsistence
 “ of souls, except in the 600 years wherein the thick
 “ darkness of popish ignorance overspread the Chris-
 “ tian world, viz. from *An. 600* till *An. 1200.*”(b)

Thus far Mr. *Layton*, who was, we see, obliged to answer his opposers in the same language which our first reformers used to the Papists. Strange that these men, who called themselves *Protestants*, should not see the impertinence of alledging the *authority of the church*, and of imputing heresy, libertinism, and even atheism, to an opinion, merely because it was not backed by the sanctions of an human establishment. They should have considered however, that those we call *Reformers*, in the days of Queen *Elizabeth*, sufficiently expressed their scruples concerning the state of the soul after death, by expunging an article of *Religion* which condemned the opinion espoused by Mr. *Layton* and others; and I have little doubt but they saw, that the *separate existence of the soul*, being one of those doctrines which Popery borrowed from paganism, and also so necessary to support so great a part of the impious and absurd superstitions of the church of *Rome*, should have been discarded among other errors of the same tendency, and that it was to little purpose to set about demolishing the superstructure, while the foundation was acknowledged to be sound and orthodox. They little dreamt, that by this over-

(b) Search after Souls. Part ii. p. 21, 22, 23.

fight, they would give their posterity the trouble of fighting the papistical battle over again with some of their nominal protestant successors, who have found their *temporal* account in *building again* many things which these reformers thought, in the simplicity of their hearts, they had sufficiently *destroyed*.

C H A P. XXIII.

Mr. Hallet's *discourse, shewing the impossibility of proving a future state by the light of nature. Remarks on some passages in it. Controverted by Mr. Grove. The Biogr. Britan. censured. A short account of Mr. Grove's book. A passage from another of his pieces unfavourable to his attempts to establish immortality by the light of nature. Remarks upon it. Mr. Hallet's Defence. Incumbered with difficulties not to be got over.*

1729. **I** Pass by innumerable multitudes of tracts on the immortality of the soul, which were published for twenty years after the period last under consideration; partly because they were aimed at infidels, who were not supposed to acknowledge any future state at all, and partly because they contained little more than repetitions of what had been said an hundred times before: and pass on to the year 1729, when the learned Mr. Joseph Hallet, jun. published, among other tracts, *A discourse shewing the impossibility of proving a future state by the light of nature.* A sensible performance, and sufficient to afford satisfaction to any one who does not give his prejudices the dominion over his common sense.

But

But some prejudices are irradicable, and then most of all when there is any fear that our convictions against them, may put us upon ill terms with our fellow members of the same communion. And such, I am sorry to observe, seems to have been the case with this ingenious writer, so far as to have led him into what appears to me to be a plain contradiction. For having brought some circumstances to prove, that the power of thought depends upon the body, he adds, "What I have here said does not prove, that the soul cannot think out of the body, for I am sure, *from revelation* that it can." (c) And again, "The will of God is made known to us two ways, by nature, and by revelation; by this latter way, God hath undoubtedly made known his will to be, that our souls shall continue to think when the body is dead." (d)

And yet he expressly asserts the doctrine of revelation to be, *No resurrection, no future state*, which, commenting upon 1 Cor. xv. 32. he thus makes out, "*If the dead rise not, let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die*, that is, says Mr. Hallet, we shall perish; there will be an end of us; we shall neither be happy, nor miserable. It is evident, this must be the meaning of the word *die* in this place, because else the reasoning of the Apostle would not appear to be good and just. If by the expression *we die*, he only meant *our bodies die*,

(c) Discourses. Vol. I. p. 214.

(d) Ibid. p. 221.

" while

“ while our souls shall be happy in another state,
 “ the argument would have no force, it would be
 “ a mere tautology.” And then, proceeding to
 paraphrase the Apostle’s discourse upon the suppo-
 sition, that he means only that our bodies die, he
 concludes thus. “ This paraphrase contradicts it-
 “ self; and I know not how to prevent a contra-
 “ diction in the paraphrase of this verse, provided
 “ we do not understand the Apostle as arguing upon
 “ the supposition, that, if there is no resurrection,
 “ there will be no future life even for the soul.”(e)

But if we understand the Apostle to argue upon
 that supposition, we must, I trow, understand him
 to argue against the passage or passages of revela-
 tion, which, according to Mr. *Hallet*, “ give un-
 “ doubted assurance that our souls shall continue
 “ to think, after the body is dead.” For in that
 case, there must be a future life of the soul, which
 has no connection with the resurrection of the dead,
 and which, according to revelation itself, makes
 the resurrection unnecessary.

I have supposed above, that this concession might
 be nothing more in Mr. *Hallet*’s intention, than a
sop for the elders of his church, inasmuch as he
 does not once attempt to point out, what text or
 texts of scripture they were, which made him sure,
 that the soul continues to think, after the body is
 dead. But Mr. *Grove*, having laid his finger up-
 on this weak place, Mr. *Hallet* was under a neces-
 sity to explain himself farther upon it, (as we shall

(e) Disc. p. 319, 320.

see by and by) but still without citing any *revealed* authorities.

I have given one instance of the anger of our *British Biographers* against this argument, so friendly to *Revelation*, in the case of Mr. *Locke*, and am now about to exhibit another of their malevolence to Mr. *Hallet*, for the same offence.

“ The same year, [1730] he [Mr. Henry Grove
“ of Taunton] published *Some thoughts concerning*
“ *the proof of a future state from reason*, in answer
“ to the Rev. Mr. *Hallet*, jun. who, in his great
“ zeal for the *Christian Revelation*, and to make it
“ appear *absolutely necessary*, had endeavoured to
“ weaken the arguments from reason for a future
“ state.”(f)

It is not easy to discern whether this spiteful sneer is aimed more immediately at Mr. *Hallet*, or the *Christian Revelation*. Let us turn the tables upon Mr. *Grove*, and say, “ who in his great zeal for the
“ moral government of God, hath endeavoured to
“ weaken the arguments for a future state, taken
“ from revelation, by endeavouring to shew, that the
“ *Christian Revelation* was not *absolutely necessary*.”
Is the zeal of Mr. *Grove* in one case, more laudible than the zeal of Mr. *Hallet* in the other? To have any advantage against Mr. *Hallet*, Mr. *Grove* must prove, that the *Christian Revelation* was not absolutely necessary : and that, supposing it to be absolutely necessary, the moral government of God must want to be vindicated. We shall however see

(f) Biog. Brit. Art. GROVE.

presently,

presently, that, upon Mr *Grove's* own principles, if the Christian Revelation is *in any degree* necessary, the moral government of God will stand just as much in need of *vindication*, as if the Gospel of Christ was *absolutely necessary*.

With respect to Mr. *Grove's* arguments, it is just sufficient to observe, that he beats the old hoof of the *vis inertiae*, and the divisibility of matter, after Dr *Clarke*; of man's being an accountable creature, present unequal distribution, &c. produces some of the old texts, intermixing here and there a sarcasm, which is nothing to the purpose. His great strength seems to lie in fighting against *Locke's* supposition of thought being super-added to matter, from the mere logical terms of *thought's* being an *absolute, primary, and numerical* quality, *simple*, and therefore not compatible with a *compound* being, or one that has parts; which, after all, is mere scholastic jargon, of no weight either to prove or disprove the fact.

Mr. *Hallet* replied to this answer, and, “ Mr. “ *Grove*, though very averse to controversy, yet “ this being with him a favourite subject, and, as “ he apprehended, of the last importance to vindicate the moral government of God, determined to review the debate,” (ff) which he began to do in a tract intituled, *The weight of tradition concerning a future state*; but lived to finish only one chapter of it.

How well Mr. *Grove* might be supposed to acquit himself on this favourite subject, and in the defence of the moral government of God, we may

(ff) Biog. Brit. Art. GROVE.

learn

learn from an anecdote preserved by the compilers of the *Biog. Brit.* who, I dare say, will lay under no suspicions of misrepresenting their hero, with those who read his article.

“ Mr. *Grove*,” say they, “ was much conversant
 “ with *Cicero*’s philosophical works, — and thought
 “ his discourses of the *Nature of the Gods*, and the
 “ immortality, an UNANSWERABLE DEMON-
 “ STRATION of the GREAT NECESSITY and
 “ advantage of the Christian Revelation, against those
 “ who would pretend, that when Christ appeared
 “ to enlighten and reform the world, he was not
 “ wanted, and that unassisted reason was sufficient
 “ for this end : For the great uncertainty in which
 “ *Cicero*, one of the greatest geniuses of paganism,
 “ was involved, and represents all their philosophers
 “ as involved, with regard to one of the most im-
 “ portant doctrines, of the existence, perfection,
 “ and providence of God, and their own future
 “ existence and state, is an argument FROM FACT,
 “ which overturns all the specious theories of mo-
 “ dern Deists, and shews too their great ingratitude,
 “ who, enlightened by the gospel, and thus enabled
 “ to think more clearly and justly on these sub-
 “ jects, refuse to own their obligations, and employ
 “ as an argument against revelation, the light they
 “ really receive from it (g).”

Now I would desire to know how the moral government of God could be vindicated, in making *Cicero* an accountable creature, and at the same time leaving him under his great uncertainty concern-

(g) *Biog. Brit.* GROVE. rem. B.

ing his being, providence, &c. and his own future condition, more than if *Cicero*, an accountable creature, had been left in absolute ignorance of these particulars? It appears to me, upon Mr. *Grove's* own shewing, that it was impossible for *Cicero* to get out of this uncertainty, without the aid of the Christian revelation, or something equivalent to it. Were the Pagans after *Cicero*, in *less* uncertainty? By no means. The Christian Revelation therefore was not only *greatly*, but *absolutely* necessary to dispel the clouds and darkness of this uncertainty; and Mr. *Grove* is just so much the more disingenuous than the modern Deists, as he plays an hypothesis in his dispute with Mr. *Hallet*, against a fact which he certainly knew and acknowledged to be true.

These inconsistencies are not uncommon; they are the necessary consequences of attempting to prescribe fitnesses and rules of moral government to God. Dr. *Clarke* fell into them, as hath been shewn by Mr. *Hallet* and others, and Mr. *Grove* who followed him, *sed longo intervallo*, could hardly hope to escape them.

But I return to Mr. *Hallet*, who, having inferred from St. *Paul's* argument, 1 Cor. xv. 32, that if there was to be no resurrection, there would be no future state; and having said likewise in the same treatise, that he was assured from revelation, *that the soul should continue to think after the body was dead*, was called upon, as well he might be, by Mr. *Grove*, to explain himself; Mr. *Grove*, supposing that the scriptures he himself had brought to prove the separate
existence

existence of the soul, were utterly inconsistent with Mr. *Hallet's* axiom, *No resurrection, no future state*(*b*).

To this Mr. *Hallet* answers, “ That the same sacrifice purchased, and the same God promises at once all these three things together, the separate existence of the soul, the resurrection of the body, and the future state beyond that, and consequently if there had been no resurrection purchased, there would have been no future state. The connection between the resurrection and the future state, in this last view of things [i. e. as exhibited by revelation] is not *natural*, but is derived from the will and wise appointment of God, who has determined (not to give men their full recompense in a separate state, but) *both* to awaken men’s souls, and to raise their bodies, and to give them a recompense in a state of union. If God had not determined to raise men’s bodies from the dead, it does not seem likely that he would have determined to awaken men’s souls immediately upon their dying, or to have given them either happiness or misery, after the destruction of this world. The connexion here between a resurrection and a future state, is founded on the will of God, and on their being *both* revealed together in the same promise(*i*). ”

Now, here it is remarkable, that Mr. *Grove*, from a number of texts which he produceth to prove the separate existence of the soul, concludes, upon the

(*b*) *Some Thoughts*, p. 119.

(*i*) *Hallet's Defence*, p. 63.

authority of scripture, that the soul is of a distinct *nature* from the body, and consequently would not *naturally* die with the body, or, which is the same thing, would *naturally* survive the body, although there should be no resurrection. And then, as Mr. Grove held, that no sentence of death was passed upon the soul, it followed, that God did not interfere in this matter, but left the soul's future existence upon the powers and capacities with which it was originally endowed.

But Mr. Hallet, we see, insists that the separate existence of the soul was matter of purchase by the sacrifice of Christ, as well as the resurrection of the dead, and that *both* were purchased and promised at one and the same time, and consequently, there was no separate existence of the soul, before the promise took place, or, in other words, before the price was paid. It does not indeed appear, whether Mr. Hallet was *assured* of the separate existence of the soul by the same texts of scripture which Mr. Grove produces, forasmuch as the former produces *no* text to this purpose at all.

But as Mr. Hallet says, that “these texts did not concern him, who had declared his firm belief that the soul is a distinct substance from the body, upon the authority of the New Testament,” these must be the same texts upon which he grounded his said belief.

Now since these texts speak so *obscurely* and *uncertainly* of the separate existence of the soul, that two very learned and ingenious men cannot agree whether the separate existence they speak of, is *natural*

tural to the soul, or only *accidental* by way of purchase, favour, or promise, is it not presumeable, that, when these texts come to be rightly understood, they may be found not to speak of any *separate existence at all*?

But Mr. *Hallet*, in his explanation of his meaning, hath incumbered himself with a difficulty, which I see not how it is possible for any one who espouses his hypothesis to solve. Mr. *Hallet* says that Christ purchased, and God promised a separate existence of the *soul*, the resurrection of the body, and a future state beyond that, AT ONCE, all three together. If this be so, how does it appear that this promise shall not be performed *at once*? Where does it appear, by any promise either in the Old or New Testament, that God is determined to *awaken* men's souls, *before* he raises their bodies? A promise relates to something future; and therefore when this promise was made, it must be understood, that the souls of dead men were not awakened, nor, as a purchase by sacrifice was to be made of *this* privilege, could they be, till the sacrifice was offered. Now, where is there a text to be found, which shews, that in consequence of this sacrifice, men's souls, which till then had been asleep, should be immediately awakened, and that from thenceforward, all the souls of men should pass into a state of separate conscious existence, immediately upon their disunion from the body? I do not here make use of Mr. *Hallet*'s expression, of *awakening men's souls immediately upon their dying*, as it is not sense;

for what occasion to awaken that which, *ex hypothesi*, never was asleep?

C H A P. XXIV.

A pamphlet intituled, The Materiality or Mortality of the Soul of Man. An account of it. The author's proofs all from scripture. Proper to qualify Mr. Hallet's concession. Mr. Grove claims all the clear and obvious texts as favouring the natural immortality of the soul. Dr. Law makes the like claim in favour of the sleep of the soul.

1729. **I**N the same year in which Mr. Hallet's discourses appeared, viz. 1729, a small pamphlet was printed for Noon, intituled, *The materiality or mortality of the soul of man, and its sameness with the body, asserted and proved from the holy scriptures of the Old and New Testament, shewing, that upon the death of the body, all sensation and consciousness utterly cease till the resurrection of the dead.*

The author of this very sensible and decisive discourse, instead of amusing himself with the metaphysical dreams of the immortalists, confines himself wholly to the scriptures, and his book may be considered as a proper supplement to Mr. Hallet's discourse, which left the matter short, by a concession, which, as I hope, now appears, ought not to have been made. In one word, this writer not only establishes his principle, on the firm and stable foundation of the word of God, but shews the futility of those conclusions drawn from certain texts of scripture, which are supposed by Mess. Grove, Hallet, and

and others, to speak of the soul as a substance distinct from, and wholly independent on the body and its organization.

Mr. *Grove*, having made such use of the scriptures, as he thought conducive to the proof of his point, goes on to say, “The sacred scriptures being
“thus clear and express in this matter, if there are
“any *obscure* passages, which seem to speak a contrary language, they ought to have their meaning fixed by such more plain and obvious ones
“as those which have been now quoted(*k*).”

But what must we do with those *clear* and *plain* passages, which not only *seem*, but certainly do speak a contrary language; not to the texts themselves cited by Mr. *Grove*, but to *his* interpretation of them? That such passages there are, we are informed by the writer of the pamphlet just mentioned, and by others whose interpretations we have somewhat more reason to rely upon, than the interpretation of those who are for *squaring* the word of God by the twinkling light of a sort of natural religion, from which they themselves are obliged occasionally to turn. On another hand,

The learned Bp. *Law* having, in his *Appendix* to his *Considerations*, examined the whole number of those texts which Mr. *Grove* calls clear and express for the natural immortality of the soul, and offered some rational explanations of them, concludes thus:

“This may serve for a specimen of such texts as

(*k*) *Some Thoughts*, &c. p. 118.

“ are usually alledged on the other side of the ques-
 “ tion, [*i. e.* in favour of a separate existence] all
 “ which, I believe, appear, even from these short
 “ remarks upon them, to be either quite foreign to
 “ the point, or purely figurative ; or lastly, capable
 “ of a clear and easy solution on the principles
 “ abovementioned: *Nor can such ever fairly be op-*
 “ *posed to the constant, obvious tenor of the sacred*
 “ *writing, and that number of plain express passages*
 “ *already cited (l).”*

Let the reader judge from their respective writings which of these learned men has more right to this argument.

C H A P. XXV.

Bp. LAW's Appendix to his *Considerations on the Theory of Religion. Fatal to the cause of a conscious intermediate state. Produced a number of Answers. Dr. Goddard. Mr. Steffe. Dr. Morton. The Examiner of Bishop Sherlock's Sermons. Bishop Warburton. Replies to these by Mr. Peckard, Dr. Benjamin Dawson, and in some anonymous tracts.*

1755. **B**P. Law's Appendix to his *Considerations on the Theory of Religion, &c.* made its first appearance in the year 1755. In this *Appendix* were examined, under several heads, all or most of the Texts where the words *soul* or *spirit* occurred in the scriptures, and the significations of them in the original languages explained from the several Contexts to which they belonged.

(l) Dr. Law's *Considerations. Appendix. p. 414, ed. 1759.*
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The cause of *the conscious intermediate state*, was so shaken from its very foundations by the scriptural testimonies brought together in this Appendix, that numbers of its partizans ran in a hurry to lend a hand to support the tottering edifice. It happened in this case, as it does in some others from which the metaphor is borrowed, that the crowd of assistants confounded each other, and by the variety of their expedients, proposed as it were all in a breath, made themselves utterly unintelligible to those who should have taken their directions. To report the several hypotheses they adopted, would swell this book to ten times its intended bulk. I shall therefore content my self with a short account of some of the forwardest of this class of writers, and of the tracts which were written in answer to them.

Dr. *Peter Stephen Goddard*, now Master of *Clare Hall* in *Cambridge*, led the way, in a sermon preached at *St. Edmund's-Bury*, February 25, 1756, and afterwards printed for *Beecroft*, in *Lombard Street*, *London*. The title of which, was, *The Intermediate State of Happiness or Misery between Death and the Resurrection, proved from Scripture*. This sermon was answered by the Rev. Mr. *Peter Peckard*, in his accurate *Observations on the doctrine of an Intermediate State between Death and the Resurrection*, printed for *Davis and Reymers*, 1756, and afterwards more minutely in an anonymous Pamphlet, intituled, *No Proof in the Scriptures of an Intermediate State of Happiness or Misery between Death and the Resurrection*, printed in the same year for *Bladon* in *Pater-noster Row*. This writer likewise took into his Answer to Dr.

Dr. Goddard, a small tract, intituled, *Remarks upon a late Treatise* [Dr. LAW's Appendix] *relating to an Intermediate State*, printed for Corbet, in Fleet-street, 1756. A miserable performance, fathered however upon a Dignitary of no little eminence in the established church. There are likewise at the end of this pamphlet, *Remarks on a Letter in the Gentleman's Magazine for April 1756*, and on ABp. Tillotson's Sermon on Heb. xi. 6.

In the year 1757, appeared, *Five Letters, &c.* by John Steffe, printed for Buckland, Pater-noster Row. In the two first of these letters are contained, as we are told in the title-page, *Scripture proofs of a separate intermediate state of existence after Death; with an answer to the principal objections to that doctrine.*

In the Monthly Review for May, 1757, were published, *Remarks on Mr. Steffe's Letter concerning the state of the Soul after Death.* Signed B. D. To these *Remarks* the Reviewers subjoined marginal notes, by way of objections to B. D.'s interpretation of certain texts, and in aid of Mr. Steffe.

The next year, 1758, Mr. Steffe published, *Two Letters on the Intermediate State*, in the first of which he attacks Dr. Law's Appendix; in the other, he defends the *First* of his *Five Letters*, against the attack of B. D.

On this *Defence* B. D. made some farther *Remarks*, which were published in *The Grand Magazine* for April, 1758. In the year 1765, the two *Tracts* containing *Remarks on Mr. Steffe's Letters, &c.* were republished, at the end of the learned Dr. BENJAMIN DAWSON's *Illustration of several texts of scripture,*

scripture, particularly those in which the LOGOS occurs. Being the substance of eight sermons preached at Lady Moyer's Lecture, 1764 and 1765. And thus the public became acquainted with Mr. Steffe's masterly opponent, who had before lain hid under variety of uncertain conjectures. It may be necessary to mention that the *Annotations* in the *Monthly Review* of May, 1757, and some others of the *Billingsgate* family (on which I shall presently bestow a particular section) are properly noticed and justly and genteelly censured, in the republication of these two tracts.

In the year 1757, Dr. *Thomas Morton*, Rector of *Bassingham*, and formerly Fellow of C. C. C. Oxon. addressed, *Queries to Dr. Law, &c. relative to what he had advanced on the soul of Man, and a separate State, with a few Remarks on Mr. Peckard's Observations, &c.* Lincoln, printed by W. WOOD.

To these *Queries* and *Remarks*, Mr. *Peckard* returned an answer in his *Farther Observations on the doctrine of an Intermediate State*, published the same year.

Dr. *Morton* does not depend so much upon any theory or discovery of his own, as upon the authority of *Grotius*, Dr. *Warburton*, Messieurs *Peters*, *Pierce*, and *Rogers*, chiefly with respect to their exposition of the texts of scripture brought to support the doctrine of an intermediate state. But as these interpretations had been considered, and the arguments founded upon them obviated by Dr. *Law*, Mr. *Peckard* applied himself more particularly to the examination of the authorities brought by Dr. *Mor-*

ton

ton from the Fathers and Philosophers, with such effect, that Dr. *Morton* did not think fit to pursue the controversy any farther. And indeed, such was the merit of these two tracts of Mr. *Peckard*, that, a few slight cavils excepted, they still remain unanswered, except in a way which, for the credit of the parties respondent, would be better forgotten than remembered.

About this period, and by some accident, not hitherto publicly accounted for, Dr. *Law*, the present Bishop of *Carlisle*, incurred the displeasure of one of Dr. *Warburton*'s seconds, who in a pamphlet, intituled, *A Free and Candid Examination of the principles advanced in the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of LONDON's very elegant Sermons lately published*, took occasion, peevishly enough, to remark that "Dr. *Law* had revived the old exploded hypothesis of the sleep of the soul," adding something, which it may be supposed he intended for a confutation of the said hypothesis.

This chastisement of Dr. *Law*, (which, whether with or without grounds, was supposed not to have been inflicted without the approbation of the *Principal*) gave occasion to a pamphlet, intituled, *Remarks on Dr. WARBURTON's account of the sentiments of the early Jews concerning the soul, &c.* printed for M. Cooper, London, 1757.

The *Account* of Dr. *Warburton*, which was the object of these *Remarks*, was delivered in the third edition of the *Divine Legation of Moses*, 1742, and was shewn to be so little different from the Account
of

of others, (particularly Mr. *Whiston*) who “supposed
 “the ancient Jews might conceive the soul to be in
 “a state of inactivity during the interval between
 “death and the resurrection(*m*),” that it might be
 affirmed of Mr. *Whiston*, Dr. *Warburton*, and Dr.
Law, that they equally espoused the old exploded
 hypothesis of the *sleep*, or what is just the same
 thing, of the *inactivity* of the soul, between Death
 and the Resurrection(*n*).

Whether Dr. *Warburton* took any hints from
 these *Remarks* or not, one cannot say; but the fact
 is, that in the fourth edition of the *Divine Lega-*
tion of 1758, he altered the mode of expressing his
 Account of the sentiments of the early Jews, &c.
 probably with a view of eluding the force of some
 observations made in the *Remarks* on his Account,
 in the former edition.

This alteration, and an additional explanation of
 his hypothesis, looking like the seeking of a *sub-*
terfuge, the author of the *Remarks* found it expedi-
 ent to publish a *Review* of some passages in this fourth
 edition of the *Divine Legation*(*o*), wherein this ex-
 planation, and the above-mentioned modifications
 were examined, and shewn not to have mended
 matters with respect to the former account in the
 least degree.

And here rested the Controversy till the year
 1765, when a new edition of the *Divine Legation*

(*m*) *Free and candid examination*, p. 60.

(*n*) *Remarks*, p. 9, 10.

(*o*) Printed for Cooper, 1760.

was presented to the public, the learned author of which was by that time promoted to the episcopal bench.

In the fourth volume of this edition, p. 376, the learned and Right Reverend Author brings the espousers of the sleep of the soul to their *Amende Honorable*, in a way, favouring rather of the sentence of a *Sorbonne* Doctor, than of the meekness and moderation recommended by St. *Paul* to *Timothy* and *Titus*, in their episcopal admonitions and reproofs to those who *oppose* themselves. From the severity of this sentence the partizans of the Bishop of *Carlisle*, desire to appeal, at the bar of the public, in the next section, which, though a little out of the rules of strict History, will, we hope, contribute to give the reader some useful intelligence concerning the present state of the Controversy.

C H A P. XXVI.

Examination of Bishop Warburton's Strictures on the doctrine of the Sleep of the Soul. His premisses more honourable to the Sadducees, than advantageous to himself. Imputes a precarious Sadducean principle to Dr. Law and his partizans, without grounds. His reasoning liable to be retorted upon him. Forges a sophism for the Polytheists, in order to abuse his antagonist, under the pretence of a parallel case. Grossly misrepresents the bishop of Carlisle. The futility of his Polytheistical sophism. The supposition, that the natural immortality of the soul is taken for granted in scripture, ridiculous and false. Gross abuse of his opponents. Handsomely reprov'd for it by an ingenious writer. Insults Dr. Taylor of Norwich, with rudeness, and without reason. Properly reprov'd for it. Proposes to prove the resurrection philosophically, by an argument which ends in the good pleasure of GOD. Mistakes the meaning of St. Paul. Confutes nonsense of his own making. Puzzles himself with his speculations on the sameness of the human frame. Is at odds with his authorities. Banters his opponents. Writes with the zeal of a Profelyte, apprehensive that the sincerity of his conversion may be suspected.

THE reader of the passage in the *Divine Lega-* 1765.
tion here referred to, will doubtless remark, ~
 that some particulars in it, relative to the origin
 of the controverfy concerning an intermediate state,
 are perfectly new, and such as they who have here-
 tofore

tofore adhered to my Lord of *Gloucester's* side of the question, never once thought of. These novelties, I apprehend, are not such as his Lordship would have chosen to exhibit, if he could have avoided it. But having, in the former editions of this book, framed an *Hypothesis* concerning the sentiments of the early Jews on the subject of the human soul, which had suffered some rude shocks from his Lordship's opponents, it became necessary in the event, to support the said hypothesis by something which should at least, have the appearance of a matter of fact, however strange and incredible.

Accordingly his Lordship having said, that “ the
 “ early Jews simply concluded, that *the soul survi-*
 “ *ved the body, without any interesting speculations on*
 “ *that survivorship,*” proceeds to inform us, that
 “ from this uninteresting state in which the doc-
 “ trine concerning the soul remained amongst the
 “ early Jews, the SADDUCEES concluded, that
 “ their ancestors believed the extinction of the soul
 “ on death.”

Nothing surely can be more honourable to the Sadducees than this testimony. The Right Reverend author, here represents them as diligent and serious examiners of the scriptures, in order to find what were the sentiments of their forefathers concerning the soul, and makes them draw their *con-*
clusion from premisses which his Lordship must allow to be strongly marked with the characters of truth. For the difference is hardly perceptible between a *survivance* of the soul, in which *no one is interested,* and the *extinction* of the soul *on death.*

And

And then again, the probability that the Sadducæan conclusion was righter than his Lordship's, will clearly appear from the circumstance of the times in which they were respectively drawn. His Lordship holds, that the early Jews believed the *survivance* of the soul on the death of the body. Whence did his Lordship derive this opinion? Plainly from the scriptures. The *Sadducees* held, that their early ancestors believed the *extinction* of the soul on the death of the body; and this likewise was the result of their searching the scriptures. Now the most authentic date of the rise of the *Sadducees*, is the High Priesthood of *Onias*, 240 years before the Christian æra (*p*). Whether therefore may we suppose the *Sadducees*, or his Lordship, who lives and writes at two thousand years distance from their first appearance, to be better acquainted with the sentiments of the early Jews concerning the soul? For to say nothing of the comparative correctness of the copies of the scriptures of those two periods, we may conclude, that the most ordinary Jews must have understood the language in which their scriptures were written, much better than the most accomplished orientalist does now (*q*). And if it should be said, that the *Pharisees*, who held the *survivance of the soul*, must have understood the scriptures as perfectly as the *Sadducees*, we have only to appeal to the R. R. au-

(*p*) *Basnage*. Hist. des Juifs, liv. 11, ch. 6. *Prideaux* places the rise of this Sect a little earlier.

(*q*) See *The Critical Review* for August, 1759, p. 99.

thor of the *Divine Legation* of MOSES. The *Pharisees*, it is well known, not only derived from their early ancestors their belief of the surivance of the soul, but their belief that the doctrine was highly *interesting*; in which, so far as the scriptures were concerned, his Lordship assures us they were mistaken, not to mention, that three parts in four of their creed consisted of unwritten traditions(*r*).

With these presumptions in favour of the Sadducean conclusion, we may now venture to face the R. R. author's genealogical table, in which he de-

(*r*) The following passage of *Lucas Brugensis*, which, according to a certain writer, contains the *Ichnography* of *The Divine Legation*, may serve to shew, whether the Sadducees or the Pharisees had the better authority for their respective opinions. Hæ [sectæ] ortæ fuisse videntur sub tempora Machabæorum, occasione quæstionum quæ tunc moveri cæperunt, de animæ humanæ immortalitate, corporis resurrectione, æternis bonorum præmiis, et malorum suppliciis. Cum enim plures eo tempore florerent Scribæ (quorum collegium ab Ezra exordium sumserat) qui sapientiæ studerent, et, ut jugo Græcorum subjacebant, nonnumquam audirent Græcorum his de rebus fabulas; factum est ut cæperint quæstiones de his rebus in medium adferre, et inter se ventilare, atque a se mutuo diffidere, aliis ista adstruentibus, qui vocati fuere *Pharisei*, aliis negantibus, qui *Sadducæi*, *Act.* xxiii. 8.—Ante hæc tempora, non videtur populus Israël quidquam de his rebus doctus fuisse, aut quidquam publice de illis prædicatum: eò quod Lex harum rerum disertam mentionem non faceret, terrenas duntaxat spes, minasque bonis malisque ob oculos ponens.—Quamquam errarent Sadducæi et quidem graviter, [*Matth.* xxii. 29] nunquam tamen a veteri synagoga declarati sunt hæretici, hoc est desertores fidei, aut legis a Deo traditæ, &c. in *MATTH.* iii. 7.

rives

rives the late *Revivers* of the doctrine of the sleep of the soul from the *Sadducees* in a lineal descent.

“Hence likewise,” says his Lordship, (that is to say, *from forming the same sentiments of the early Jews, that the Sadducees did*) “came some late “revivers of this opinion of the extinction of the “soul, tho’ maintained under the softer name of its “sleep between death and the resurrection, for “they go upon the *Sadducean principle*, that the “soul is a *quality*, and not a *substance*.”

Had his Lordship made the Scribes and Pharisees, who *besotted themselves with the Greek philosophy*, talk of *substances* and *qualities*, it would not much have surpris’d one. But to ascribe this kind of scholastic distinctions to the *Sadducees*, who drew their conclusions wholly from the scriptures, and only a part of those, where there is no subject of philosophical speculation, argues a willing mind on the behalf of his party, and a readiness to advance any thing, which he may hope he shall not be put to prove. The truth is, all this is only a spice of theological artifice. If the *Revivers* are found to hold that the soul is only a *quality*, that opinion must by all means be a *Sadducean principle*. His Lordship is too experienced a polemic not to know, that if he can make the *Revivers* to be esteemed *Sadducees*, even in *one principle*, the obsequious multitude will take it for granted, they must be *Sadducees* in every article of sensual and immoral conversation, which ignorant zeal, ancient and modern, hath ascribed to that denomination.

These insinuations, however, are not, in my opinion, among the most politic arts of controversy, inasmuch as they commonly subject those who use them to reprisals. And so in the present case; the Revivers of the sleep of the soul may insinuate in their turn, that the doctrine of the *survivance of the soul* is a Pharisaical doctrine, derived from the Greeks, and founded on that principle which gave birth to the worship of Dæmons. Hence came some late *Revivers* of the doctrine of the survivance of the soul, under the popular and plausible pretence of its natural immortality; going upon the Pharisaical principle, that the soul is a *substance*, and not a *quality*. After which the public may, if they please, apply whatever is said in the New Testament, of the Pride, Avarice, Hypocrisy, and Superstition of the Pharisees, to those who borrow their opinion on this subject, and perhaps with something more than equal propriety.

But to proceed with the R. R. author of the *Divine Legation of Moses* demonstrated. “ In support
 “ of this opinion, the Revivers of it proceed on
 “ the sophism which the Polytheists employ to combat the unity of the Godhead. *All philosophical*
 “ *arguments*, says the *Reviver*, (after having quoted
 “ a number of wonderful things from scripture, to
 “ prove the soul a quality and mortal) *drawn from*
 “ *our notion of matter, and urged against the possibility of life, thought, agency, being so connected*
 “ *with some portions of it, as to constitute a compound*
 Being

“ *Being or Person, are merely grounded on our ignorance (s).* Just so the Polytheist.”

If the reader, in turning over the Bishop of Carlisle's *Appendix* above cited, should expect to find *any number* of these *wonderful things*, quoted from scripture, for the purpose of proving the soul to be a *quality* and *mortal*, he will be grievously disappointed. On the contrary, the judicious and candid author of that *Appendix*, expressly appeals to these quotations as evidence, “ that the scripture “ never seems to countenance these nice speculations, by treating *man* in any such intricate abstracted way.” Indeed the worthy author employs a number of these *wonderful things*, (and that with the utmost pertinence and perspicuity) to shew that the words for *soul* and *spirit*, signify in the scriptures, many things very different from the idea of *soul* and *spirit*, suggested by *Clarke*, *Baxter*, and Bishop *Warburton*. And if these scripture senses happen to imply, that what is called *soul* and *spirit* by the sacred writers, is neither a *distinct substance*, nor *immortal*, who can help it? Not the Right Reverend author of the *Divine Legation*, I can assure the reader, his Lordship hath already been made fore on this subject, and will be far enough from entering upon a disquisition, which may once more drive him into the risque of unhinging his whole *Demonstration (t)*.

(s) See the Bishop of Carlisle's *Appendix* to his *Considerations*, &c. p. 398. ed. 3^d.

(t) See, *A Review* of some passages in the *Divine Legation*, &c. p. 18—23.

But this is not all. As the R. R. author of the D. L. hath misrepresented the *use* that the Bishop of *Carlisle* makes of his quotations from scripture, so hath he curtailed the Bishop's *supposed* SOPHISM, in a manner by no means becoming a fair and generous adversary; by which device he hath concealed from his reader two very material circumstances. 1. That the Bishop of *Carlisle* goes on to strengthen his argument, by an examination of some metaphysical topics expressed in the very terms of *Clarke* and *Baxter*, overthrowing all their curious reasonings, by an appeal to *daily experience*. And all this exclusive of his appeal to scripture. Whence it follows, 2. That the *Polytheist* would be contemptibly ridiculous to go to support *his* argument *ab ignorantia*, in the manner the Bp. of *Carlisle* hath done. This would have shewn, that the two cases have as little similarity to each other, as the *understanding* of certain controversial writers has to their *honesty*. But now for the *sophism* of the Polytheist.

“Just so the Polytheist. All arguments for the
 “unity from metaphysics, are manifestly vain, and
 “merely grounded on our ignorance. You be-
 “lievers,” says he, “must be confined to scripture.
 “Now scripture assures us, *There are Gods many*,
 “which, by the way, I THINK, is a stronger text,
 “certainly a director, against the unity of the God-
 “head, than any this learned writer has produced
 “for the sleep of the soul.”

True; and, *This is my body*, is a stronger, certainly a director text for transubstantiation, than
 any

any the author of the *Divine Legation* hath produced to shew, that the early Jews did not believe the doctrine of future rewards and punishments. And if you go to *natural light*, the ancient Jews *must* have believed it; for that God is a *rewarder* of them that diligently seek him, is as demonstrable by the light of nature, as that he *is*, or is ONE. But in what age or country must this Polytheist have been born and bred? Or is he a phantom which appeared to our author in a dream? The Polytheists of *Greece* and *Italy* (and none else were likely to attack believers from their own scriptures) understood their own language at least, and would hardly have urged this clause as a concession of *St Paul*, as the R. R. author understands it, because they would have known that the word, λεγομενοι, belonged as much to the parenthesis, as to the foregoing words, and from that circumstance would have perceived, that instead of being a *direct* text, it was no text at all in proof of Polytheism.

Well. “ But what say believers to this? They
 “ say, that scripture takes the Unity, as well as the
 “ existence of the Deity, for granted, takes them
 “ for truths demonstrable by natural light.”

Which, to be sure, would be very satisfactory to a Polytheist, who should be disposed to stick to his text, which (as the R. R. author understands it) would be a proof, that scripture does not only not take the Unity of God for granted, but expressly asserts the contrary.

But of what class, one would be glad to know,

are those believers who would subscribe to this answer? An answer which evidently supposes, that there is no *strong* or *direct* text in the whole scripture, for the Unity of God; and that, with respect to proof, the doctrine stands upon *no other* foundation than natural light? I have heard of some, who profess to be believers, that pretend they have *Bibles of their own*; and, what may or may not be found in those bibles, it would be hard to say. But surely real believers of common sense, with the authentic scripture before them, would hardly let the Polytheist go off with an answer which gives so considerable a blow to the whole tenour of revealed religion.

Let us suppose this conversation to have passed between the Bishop of Gloucester's Polytheist, and Dr. *Samuel Clarke*. The Doctor appeals to the light of nature for the *unity* of God; and the idea of this Unity, which the light of nature gives Dr. *Clarke*, excludes all possibility of a Trinity of persons in the same one individual substance. The Polytheist, we will suppose, observes this to Dr. *Clarke*, and tells him, this is a very different idea from what the light of nature, and metaphysical lore gives to orthodox christians, and that the consequences arising from this difference are too visible and important, for any man to suppose, that they could proceed from any uniform light of nature, or metaphysical demonstration. What is the result? Dr. *Clarke* appeals to the scriptures, and thither the orthodox are obliged to follow him: For they are very sensible of the advantage the Doctor would have

have, if the light of nature and metaphysical deduction were to be the *dernier resort*. The appeal it self supposes, that the true notion of the Unity cannot be settled but by the scriptures, and that again implies that the scriptures do *not* take the Unity for granted, or a truth demonstrable by natural light; but expressly takes the demonstration upon it self. And the orthodox are obliged to confess, that all arguments for the unity, as they explain it, taken from metaphysics, are *incomprehensible*, which is only saying in other words, that they are grounded on our *ignorance*. And so here is an end of the *Sophism* of the Polytheist, and now for the parallel case.

“ Just so it is with regard to that immaterial substance, The Soul. Scripture supposes men to be so far informed of the Soul by the same light, as to know, that it cannot be destroyed by any of those causes which *bring about the destruction* of the body (u).”

Let

(u) “ He [Mr. Broughton] says further, *The scripture may be allowed to suppose the separate subsistence of souls, as well as to suppose the Being of God*. Reply. I deny that the scripture only supposes the Being of a God, and say, that the scripture so clearly proves and demonstrates the certainty and Being of a God, as that no man, who reads it with belief that it is a true History, can possibly doubt of the Being of God. And let Mr. B. and his abettors make a fortieth part of the proof of their separate souls, as I will undertake to make out of Scripture of the true and certain Being of a God, and I will then be ready to subscribe to their opinion, and yield them the conquest in this dispute.”

Layton's Observations upon Broughton's Psychologia, Part. 2^d. p. 40. Here is a fair challenge to the *abettors* of this Mr. Broughton,

Let us illustrate the force of this argument, by a case which was once mooted between two celebrated disputants, Messieurs *Jurieu* and *Le Clerc*.

Jurieu put himself in a passion with *Grotius* for interpreting the passage of *Job*, *I know that my Redeemer liveth*, &c. of a temporal deliverance or restoration from his present calamity, and for supposing it to have no respect to a resurrection from the dead; "It is impossible," says *Jurieu*, "to deny
"that the church of that time had a clear know-
"ledge, and a firm belief of the immortality of the
"soul, and of rewards and punishments in a world
"to come."

"How comes it then," says *Le Clerc*, "that
"these things are not expressly spoken of in any
"part of the Old Testament?"

"Because," replies *Jurieu*, "the ancients thought
"it needless."

"Thank God," says *Le Clerc*, "that our Lord
"and his apostles were not of the same opinion;
"otherwise we must have been strangely perplexed
"to know what would become of us after death;
"and must have gone to the Philosophers to learn

Broughton, among whom I beg leave to rank our R. R. author, who, I think, must allow, that wherever the Being of God is clearly proved in scripture, there the *Unity* of that Being is something more than *supposed*. And if the R. R. author is disposed to take up the Gauntlet, I doubt not but he will meet with an adventurer as hardy with respect to the proof of the Unity of God, as Mr. Layton was with regard to the proof of his Being.

"this

“ this great truth, and not to the Holy Scriptures.
 “ But, pray, reverend Sir, why was it *needless* ?”

“ Because,” says *Jurieu*, “ these truths are principles which are presupposed in every religion, and without which it would be impossible to establish any true fear of God in the mind of man.”

“ It is for this very reason,” rejoins *Le Clerc*, “ that one should speak of these things, when the business is to comfort the miserable, or to exhort men to piety,” (which, by the way, was the business that *Job*’s friends had with him at that time) “ instead of speaking,” (as these friends did) “ of temporal rewards and punishments only. Besides that these are things of which our senses do not inform us ; nor can the common people acquire the knowledge of them by reasoning.” i. e. by those metaphysical deductions to which the author of the D. L. refers (x).

Let us now suppose that the Bishop of *Gloucester* knows a better reason, why future rewards and punishments are mentioned in the New Testament, and not in the Old, than *Monf. Jurieu* was aware of ; what reason will he give, why the *separate existence* of the soul is not mentioned either in the *Old*, or the *New Testament* ? The cast of his answer to the *Sophism* of the soul-sleepers requires, that the Jewish and Christian scriptures should be equally *silent* concerning this doctrine. Will he adopt Mr. *Jurieu*’s silly reason that it was *needless* ? But here he must encounter Mr. *Le Clerc*’s difficulties, and

(x) *Le Clerc*, Biblioth. Choisie. Vol. v. p. 365.

indeed,

indeed, much greater difficulties arising from an hypothesis of his own, namely, that our Saviour, in his reasoning with the Sadducees, deduces his argument for the resurrection of the dead, through the *medium* of the *separate existence* of the soul; which is utterly inconsistent with the silence of the scriptures concerning this separate existence; or with their only taking it for granted as a doctrine demonstrable by the light of nature.

For the present however, the Soul-sleepers pin him down to this *silence* of the New Testament concerning the *separate existence*; it is a concession too considerable not to be accepted; for as it cannot be supposed to have been concealed with any regard to, or prospect of a future dispensation, the consequence will be, that, according to the scriptures, a Resurrection of the dead, and a future state of rewards and punishments will be accomplished without it.

But should the R. R. author be disposed once more to desert this *silence*, and to bring the separate existence of the soul on the stage as a *medium*, through which, to deduce the proof of a resurrection, it will be expected that he will cite a text as express for it, as the soul-sleepers may do for the unity, namely, *To us there is but one God the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him.* Till when his Lordship will do well to keep his *polytheistical sophism* for some future occasion.

“ Our Dreamers (y),” continues his Lordship,
“ are

(y) From this word we are referred to the following marginal note: “ St. Jude’s filthy dreamers only defiled the flesh,
“ these

“ are aware of this, and therefore hold with un-
 “ believers, that the soul is no *substance*, but a *qua-*
 “ *lity* only, and so have taken effectual care indeed,
 “ that its repose shall not be disturbed in this which
 “ we may call the sleep of Death.”

Aware

“ these *defile the spirit*.” Perhaps there would be as much
 wit, and much less absurdity in the application, should these
 dreamers retaliate upon his Lordship the last clause of the 15th
 verse of this short epistle of *Jude*. But instead of making re-
 prisals in this way, let us have recourse to the manly and de-
 cent reprehension his Lordship received from the pen of a
 writer, who did not think his great abilities, as a Scholar
 and a reasoner, at all debased by using the stile and address
 of a christian and a gentleman. “ Will the R. R. author of
 “ *The Divine Legation of Moses*, be thought to have exercised
 “ this same talent of wit, either in a manner worthy of him-
 “ self, or, indeed, with *Innocence*? It can surely be deemed
 “ but a vulgar pleasure his Lordship seems to take, in calling
 “ the controverters of the doctrine of an intermediate state, by
 “ the name of *Dreamers, Sleepers, Middle-men, &c.* Such
 “ language is more worthy of that inferior and popular class
 “ of writers, (to which indeed it has hitherto been chiefly
 “ confined,) than that eminence which the Bishop of *Glou-*
 “ *cester* holds in the learned world. These Gentlemen too,
 “ with whom his Lordship makes so *merry* and so *free*, have
 “ been too long dinned with such sort of names, to have their
 “ sleep broken by a repetition of the rude noise. Nor can
 “ the R. R. author be thought to have acquitted himself with
 “ more *decency* and *propriety* of character, in making a very
 “ serious expression from a sacred writer, serve the purpose
 “ of a witty sarcasm. St. *Jude's*, *filthy dreamers*, only *de-*
 “ *filed the flesh*; these *defile the spirit*. But, though we can-
 “ not suppose that St. *Jude* and the *bishop* are equally serious,
 “ yet it is not so clear, that his Lordship, in bringing this
 “ charge of *spiritual defilement* against the *Dreamers*, is alto-
 “ gether,

Aware of what? Why, that the scripture supposes men to be so far informed of the nature of the soul, as to know that it cannot be destroyed by ANY OF THOSE CAUSES which bring about the destruction of the body.

The *dreamers* then must be aware that the scripture *supposes* men to be informed of a position by the light of nature, which the same scripture, even as interpreted by his Lordship and his party who are so *broad awake*, most expressly contradicts. For the scripture is positive that the *soul* may be destroyed by ONE of those causes, which *bring about* the destruction of the body; namely, a GEHENNA of fire, MATTH. x. 28. We leave his Lordship to dispute the point with certain adversaries of the *Divine Legation of Moses*, whether the soul is here considered as a *substance* or a *quality*.

His Lordship proceeds. “*We can never prove, (says another of these sleepers) “that the soul of man “is of such a nature, that it can and must exist and*

“*gether in jest.* Certain it is, that, however unwilling his
“Lordship might be to suppress so jocular a sentiment, he is
“willing we should consider the doctrine in a serious light,
“as of a dangerous and *defiling* nature. For the learned au-
“thor of *Considerations on the Theory of Religion*, is repre-
“sented as a *Reviver* of the Sadducean Opinion of the Ex-
“*tinction of the Soul* on death, his valuable quotations from
“scripture *scornfully* termed a number of WONDERFUL
“things: And this scrap of scripture, *there be Gods many,*
“judged by the R. R. author, to be a stronger text against
“the *Unity* of the Godhead, than any this learned writer
“hath produced for his opinion.” Dr. DAWSON’s Re-
marks on Mr. Steffe, p. 293—295.

“*live*

“ live, think, act, enjoy, &c. separate from, and inde-
 “ pendent of the body. All our present experience shews
 “ the contrary. The operations of the mind depend con-
 “ stantly and invariably on the state of the body; of the
 “ brain in particular. If some dying persons have a
 “ lively use of their rational faculties to the very last, it
 “ is because Death hath invaded some other part, and
 “ the brain remains sound and vigorous. *ibid.* p. 401.
 “ This is the long exploded trash of Coward, To-
 “ land, Collins, &c. and he who can treat us with
 “ it at this time of the day, has either never read
 “ Clarke and Baxter (in which he had been better
 “ employed than in writing upon it) or never un-
 “ derstood them.”

This *et cætera* was well put in. Coward, Toland, and Collins, are names execrated by numbers who never read them, and by numbers who having read them, never understood them, at least upon *this* subject. Among the latter I make no scruple of ranking the author of the *Divine Legation*, who, I will venture to say, suppressed some other names that have retailed this *long exploded trash*, merely because it was not for his purpose, that they whom he calls the *Revivers*, should appear in more reputable company. A most contemptible artifice from a man who knows by woful experience, that there are some opinions of unbelievers, which cannot be either exploded or confuted, merely by calling them *trash*; and there can be no greater indiscretion, not to say, folly, in any controversial writer, than to cite such passages as that above, and then to have nothing to oppose to them, but — a few scurri-
 lous

lous ebullitions of an angry spirit. Here is an appeal to experience, that the faculties of the soul depend upon the state of the body. What has the R. R. author to set against this? Even the testimony of *Clarke* and *Baxter*, who, instead of weakning the presumption arising from the want of, and the apparent contrariety to experience, treat us with a metaphysical hypothesis, where they are obliged to beg the question at the outset, and to take for granted the principal point in dispute, just as the scriptures are represented to do by the right reverend Prelate. And matters being thus upon an equal footing as to *proof*, the Revivers think it more becoming the modesty of believers, to search the scriptures, than to consult *Clarke* and *Baxter*, or even the Right R. author himself, who have an equal chance of erring in following what they call the light of nature, as the Revivers, in following their experience, and depending upon the silence of the scriptures, supposing that to be the case.

In the mean time, they who are conversant in the writings of the late learned Dr. *Taylor*, of *Norwich*, may perhaps be of opinion that he was full as capable to direct the studies of the R. R. author of the Divine Legation of Moses, as the latter was to prescribe a course of reading to Dr. *Taylor* (z).

The

(z) “The late worthy Dr. Taylor of Norwich,” (says the above cited judicious Remarker on Mr. *Steffe*) “is called, “*Another of these sleepers*, and a very sensible quotation from “him has the following *decent* reflection passed upon it. *This* “is

The R. R. Censor goes on. "So far as to the
 "abstract truth. Let us consider next the prac-
 "tical consequences. Convince the philosophic
 "Libertine, that the soul is a *quality* arising out of
 "matter, and vanishing on the dissolution of the
 "form; and then see if you can ever bring him
 "to believe the Christian doctrine of the resurrec-
 "tion."

Convince him! Why, my Lord, he is, according
 to your Lordship, *already* convinced, if he is an *un-
 believer*; for your Lordship surely cannot have forgot
 what you so lately advanced, *viz.* that "the Revivers
 "of the doctrine of the sleep of the soul, hold that
 "the soul is a quality, *in common with unbelievers.*"

Well, but he *is* convinced, and under that con-
 viction will never be brought to believe the Chris-
 tian doctrine of the resurrection. Can the reader
 guess what may be his Lordship's *true* reason for
 this? No other, at the bottom, than that the re-
 surrection cannot be proved, either *scripturally* or
philosophically, but through the medium of the se-
 parate existence of the soul. For otherwise it would
 only be a natural and necessary inference, that the
Power which first created, and afterwards dissolved

"is the old exploded Trash of COWARD, TOLAND, and
 "COLLINS. And yet, I dare say, his Lordship will think
 "this writer as honourably class'd in point of authorship,
 "with Coward, Toland, and Collins, as the Bishop of Glou-
 "cester would be, should some one ill-naturedly pleasant,
 "and availing himself of his Lordship's *decent* expression,
 "class his performance on this subject, with the old, popular
 "—Trash—of Goddard, Steffe, and Fleming." Remarks. u. s.

the *form*, might reproduce it. And the form being reproduced, the qualities would be restored of course. Convince him, on the other hand, that this *medium* is the separate existence of a thinking, conscious, active substance, capable of pleasure and pain to indefinite degrees, and then indeed he might find insuperable difficulties in drawing the conclusion in favour of the Christian doctrine. But then his comfort would be, as it is at present, that there would be *no occasion* for it.

For we are told, “ While he held the soul to be
 “ an immaterial substance, existing as well in its se-
 “ paration from, as in its conjunction with the bo-
 “ dy, he could have no reason, from the princi-
 “ ples of true philosophy, to stagger him in the
 “ belief of the revealed doctrine.”

He must then never have read, or never have understood those *true philosophers* CLARKE and BAXTER, who equip this *immaterial substance* with something besides a bare existence. They form very *interesting speculations* on this separate existence of the soul; on its *consciousness, activity, perception of good and evil*, in one word, on its *capacity for as exquisite happiness and misery*, as the mind of man can conceive. Is it possible that a man, with these convictions upon his mind, and who is taught to have no *such* convictions with respect to the *material substance*, should be able to see either a *physical* or a *moral* reason for the revealed doctrine? Since in the one view, all the ends of *life* are answered in the state of the separate soul, and in the other, all the
 ends

ends of putting the *man* into a capacity of reward and punishment.

To help out his argument, the R. R. author cites 1 Cor. xv. 36. *Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened, except it die*, which, his Lordship informs us, “ is good Philosophy, as well as good Divinity. FOR if the body, instead of its *earthly* nature, were to have an *heavenly*, it must needs pass through death and corruption to qualify it for that change.”

Very well, we are obliged at length to have recourse to scripture. And for my part I do not see why the Unitarians might not have argued in the same manner with his Lordship's *Polytheist*, and have told him, that St Paul's doctrine, *To us there is but one GOD the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him*, is good *Metaphysics* as well as *Divinity*: and so have cut short the sophism at once, without risking the credit of Holy Writ in that wretched unsatisfactory account he gives of its testimony to this grand article, the UNITY OF GOD.

But indeed, I have observed, that when *true philosophers*, through some defect in their own sort of reasoning, condescend to quote scripture, it is commonly ominous, either to the scripture quoted, or to the merit of their argument. And thus in fact it is in the very case before us. *The grain that thou sowest*, says the Apostle, *is not quickened except it die*. This the R. R. prelate will have to be a *philosophical* argument, that the earthly body of man must needs pass through a state of death, to qualify

it for its change into a celestial body. Whereas the *philosophical* reason of this change, was what the *fool* demanded; and concerning which the Apostle thinks fit to gratify him no farther, than by referring him to the case of the reproduction of grain, which hath, as *Le Clerc* observes, “ a
 “ *resemblance* of the resurrection of the dead, and
 “ is not less surprising ;” but instead of giving him a philosophical account of *this* reviviscence, he refers him to the *power* and *will* of God, who *giveth it a body as it hath pleased him*. On another hand, the human body is sown in *corruption*, and raised in *incorruption* ; which is not the case of the grain. So that though a philosophical account might be given of the reviviscence of corn, after its dissolution in the earth, upon the common principles of vegetation, yet would not this afford even an *analogical* reason why “ the human body *must needs*
 “ pass through death, to be qualified for the *change*
 “ that is to be wrought upon it at the resurrection ;” for no principles of vegetation will account for such a change, and perhaps the R. R. author has the only head into which such an imagination ever made its way. It is in truth an hypothesis which is contrary to matter of fact. The translations of *Enoch* and *Elijah*, the transfiguration of our Lord, and what happened at his ascension, are sufficient proofs that there is no *necessity*, other than what arises from the *power* and *will* of God, that the human body should pass through death, to qualify it for a change of its *earthly*, into a celestial nature. Whether the R. R. author misunderstood

St *Paul*, or chose to misrepresent him, let others determine.

“ But,” continues this learned philosophical Divine, “ when this body died, what *occasion* was there for the soul, which was to suffer no change, to fall asleep ?”

It was but just now that the R. R. author talked of some *dreamers* who *defile the spirit*, and perhaps he may read in *his own bible*, that there is a *filthiness of the spirit*, as well as *of the flesh*, and it would not be easy to understand, how such a spirit can be purified and made fit to inhabit a celestial body, without undergoing *some* change. If then he will not permit this filthiness and defilement to be purged off in a state of sleep ; I am afraid he will find no expedient for the purification of these *dreaming* rogues, but to send their poor souls to purgatory. If he will not allow this *filthiness* to be an *occasion of change*, we should be glad to know how he would dispose of it without it.

“ But,” says the R. R. author, “ their sleep of the soul is mere cant, and this brings me to the last consideration, the sense and consistency of so ridiculous a notion. They go, as we observed, upon the Sadducean principle, that the soul is a quality of the body, and not a substance of it self ; and so dies with its substratum. Now sleep is a modification of existence, not of non-existence, so that though the sleep of a substance hath a meaning, the sleep of a quality is nonsense.”

An author who, like this before us, is reduced

to the necessity of quibbling upon mere words, is never employed with more satisfaction to himself, than in confuting nonsense of his own making. He has been called upon a thousand times to prove, that the *Sadducees* held the soul to be a *quality* of the body. This proof never appeared, and it is from circumstances in the sacred writings, next to certain, that the ascription of this doctrine to the *Sadducees* is a mere forgery. And that the Revivers of the sleep of the soul, hold that the soul is a *quality* of the body, depends entirely, in the R. R. author's chain of reasoning, upon the proof that the *Sadducees* held it so before them. Will not the candid and sensible reader be apt to think, that a writer who from such premises, fathers a nonsensical conclusion upon his adversaries, is lost to all feelings of modesty, and all sense of ingenuity?

They whom he calls the *Revivers*, &c. have over and over disclaimed the consideration of the soul under the abstract notions of *substance* and *quality*. What they affirm, is, that the scripture does not speak of the conscious survivance of any part of MAN between death and the resurrection. The state in which the scripture represents MAN to be in this interval, is a state of *sleep*. And this sleep being a scriptural term, there is no nonsense in the use of it ascribed to the *Revivers*, which will not bring the same imputation upon the sacred Penmen, as will presently appear.

In the mean time be it observed, that when they make use of the term *soul*, to denote something distinct from, or independent on the *body*, it is in
mere

mere compliance with those ideas impressed upon the vulgar by the R. R. author and his partizans, meaning only to denominate that power of thought and action which results from the organization of the living Man (a).

“And,” continues his Lordship, “if ever this *soul of theirs* reexerts its faculties, it must be by means of a reproduction.”

Remember, kind reader, that *this soul of theirs* is but a *quality*, and yet, it seems, has *faculties*; and what is more, is a *quality* capable of *exerting* those faculties, and upon a *reproduction* may *re-exert* them. I wonder whose *nonsense* this is. Most assuredly not the *Revivers*’.

Well, but in order to this *reexertion*, it *must* be *reproduced*. And what then? Why then, *reproduction*, and a *mere awaking*, are two different things, “and they may as well *talk* of the sleep of a mushroom, turned again into the substance of the dunghill, from whence it arose, and from which not the same, but another mushroom shall in time arise.”

To make this comparison of use to the R. R. prelate, it must be supposed, that this departed Mushroom is a *non-existent*; and that its non-existence is owing to its being turned again into the substance

(a) One of them, namely R. O. has put in his caveat against being misunderstood on this head. “Whereas,” says he, “in several places scattered thorow the book” (intituled, *Man wholly mortal*) “the use of the word *Soul*, may seem to some to imply that which I deny, let such know, it is for argument sake, not intending in the least any self-distinct Being by it.”

of the dunghill from whence it arose. But whatever the state of this dead mushroom is, the same must be the state of the dead human body, for that too is *turned again into the substance* of the earth from whence it was taken, and consequently ceases to be ; and consequently again, to talk of the *sleep* of the dead body thus dissolved, is equally nonsense, as to talk of the sleep of a *quality* of that body.

“ By no means, will the R. R. author say, for it “ is the *same* body that is to be restored, but *not the same* Mushroom.” But what is that to the *intermediate* state of dissolution? If the mushroom, upon its being turned again into the substance of the dunghill from whence it arose, loses its existence, so does the human body, upon being resolved into its *kindred element*, during which its component parts can be no more distinguished than those of the mushroom ; and the selecting these from the common mass, and restoring the human form, is as much a *reproduction*, as the raising a different body from the same mass would be. So that we see this formidable objection ends at last in a most ridiculous and contemptible logomachy, and that, very unfortunately for the objector, not without its share of *nonsense*. For the *reproduction* not of the *same* mushroom, or quality (which was reduced to non-existence) but of *another* mushroom or quality, (which never had existed) must be a curiosity indeed!

And thus he follows his blow. “ In a word, “ neither unbelievers nor believers will allow to “ those

“ those *Middle-men*, that a *new-existing* soul, which
 “ is only a quality resulting from a glorified body,
 “ can be *identically the same*, with an annihilated
 “ soul, which had resulted from an *earthly body*.”

Would the R. R. author be understood, that the *substantial soul*, which had heretofore been united to the *earthly* body, will be *identically the same*, when united to the *glorified* body? I pass by the enlightening idea of *identical sameness*. I only mean to ask, will the substantial soul undergo *no change* upon its reunion with the glorified body? If this is the converse of his Lordship's proposition, I am afraid his Lordship must have some altercation with Mr. *Baxter*, who talks of a *limited* or *confined* perceptivity of the soul, during its union with the earthly body, and of an *enlarged life* of the soul in its state of separation from it (*b*). *Baxter* does not indeed tell us what the case will be when this soul shall be united to a *glorified* body. For having made the soul in a state of separation, a *pure percipient substance*, without any limitation or confinement, he might not see what purpose it would answer, once more to circumscribe its powers within *any* body however *glorified*; and from discerning the *no necessity*, might put a *quære* to the fact; as some people have supposed he really did.

But the orthodox have made us ample amends for this omission. They inform us, that “ the souls of
 “ all the faithful, immediately after death, enter into
 “ a state and place of bliss, far exceeding all the fe-

(*b*) *Baxter*, Vol. 1. p. 296. note (*e*).

“ licities of this world, though *short* of that most
 “ consummate perfect beatitude of the kingdom of
 “ heaven, with which they are to be crowned and
 “ rewarded at the resurrection. And so on the
 “ contrary, that the souls of all the wicked are,
 “ presently after death, in a state of very great mi-
 “ fery, and yet dreading a far greater misery at
 “ the day of judgment (c).”

Would it not be marvellous, if the soul, in passing through this progression from one degree of perception to another, and from less to greater happiness and misery respectively, should undergo no *change*? So that possibly the R. R. author might find as many difficulties with respect to the *identical sameness* of his *substantial soul* inhabiting an earthly and a glorified body respectively, both among *believers* and *unbelievers*, as the middle-men would do, even if they should suppose the soul to be only a quality.

But let us return for a moment to the R. R. author's proposition. “ It will not be allowed, that
 “ a *new existing soul* which is only a quality result-
 “ ing from a glorified body, can be identically
 “ the same with an annihilated soul, which had
 “ resulted from an earthly body.”

Why no, neither will it be allowed that a *Rochet*, which is only a quality resulting from an *episcopal* body, is *identically the same* with an *annihilated surplice* which had resulted from a merely sacerdotal body.

(c) Bishop Bull, apud Chappelow, p. 49.

Where is the marvel that a *new existing soul*, should not be the same with an *annihilated soul*? And will not the proposition be equally true, whether the soul is considered as a *substance* or as a *quality*?

The truth is, the R. R. author did not understand his master, who states the case with which his Lordship hath been puzzling himself and his readers, as follows:

“ If the soul be not a permanent substance, but
 “ only a *quality* or *crasis*, which, when the body
 “ dies, perisheth, and is extinguished with it, it is
 “ impossible that the same *numerical man* should rise
 “ after death, because the form or soul which pe-
 “ rished, cannot be numerically the same, with the
 “ form or soul which is restored. For this is nu-
 “ merically another, because between that which
 “ perished, and this which is restored, there inter-
 “ vened a *nihilum*, a non-entity. Now whensoever
 “ between two extremes, a *medium* of a diverse
 “ kind is interposed, those two cannot be *numeri-*
 “ *cally* the same, though they may be the same *spe-*
 “ *cifically* (d).”

Now both the master and the disciple employ their reasoning respectively to prove, that the soul is a permanent substance, and not a quality of the body. And their medium is, the absurdity that a being which had been extinguished, or had perished, should ever be restored to the *sameness* which only would make it accountable in a future state.

(d) See Bishop Bull's Sermons, published by Chappelow.
 P. 17, 18.

Why so? says the objector. Because, says the disciple, an *annihilated soul* cannot be *identically the same* with a *new existing soul*. And there he leaves us to laugh at his nugatory conclusion, *therefore the soul is not a quality, but a substance*.

But the master knew a little better what he was about; and he tells us, that if the soul is a *quality*, and is extinguished with the body, it is impossible that the same NUMERICAL MAN should arise after death, because the FORM or *soul* which perished, cannot be *numerically* the same, with the *form* or *soul* which is restored; and his reason is, that between the two extremes, of the soul extinguished, and the soul restored, there intervenes a medium of a diverse kind, viz. *A Non-entity*.

Here the master gives us some hold of his system, and we are enabled to reason with him upon his own principles, and proceed to observe that if it is necessary that the same *numerical man* should arise after death, it is equally necessary that he should arise with the same *numerical body*. But this cannot be, except the body arises with the same *numerical qualities* with which it was endued before death. In which case the soul being, *ex hypothesi*, only a *quality*, or, if you will, a *crasis* of the body, must be *numerically* the same *after* the resurrection of the body, that it was before the death of the body. It will not at all avail this subtile schoolman to say an intervening *non-entity* will prevent this numerical sameness of the soul; for having grounded this on a general maxim, viz. that “whensoever between
“two extremes, a *medium* of a *diverse* kind is in-
“terposed,

“terposed, those two cannot be numerically the “same,” we join issue with him, and say, the *death* or *corruption* of the body is such a medium, interposed between the two extremes of life and motion, before death, and after the resurrection; and will as effectually prevent the numerical sameness of the body at its resurrection, as the intervention of *Non-entity* will prevent the numerical sameness of the soul.

If he should say, that it is not necessary that the same numerical body should arise; we infer from thence that it is not necessary that the same *numerical man* should arise, for Bishop *Bull* assures us in the very next page, “that the body is an ESSENTIAL part of man, a *constitutive* part of that “compounded thing which we call *man*.”

Whether the R. R. author saw the dilemma into which his scholastic master had drawn himself, must be left to his own conscience, but this he certainly saw, that the term, *numerically the same*, would not do for his *glorified* body; and therefore substituted the idle tautological term, *identically the same*. And what has he gained upon those who hold the soul to be a *quality* by this expedient? Nothing, but that, as the *glorified body* cannot be *identically the same* with the *earthly body*, so neither can the *qualities* of the *glorified body* be *identically the same* with the *qualities* of the *earthly body*.

But the R. R. author and these *middle-men* must not part without a spice of his Lordship’s humor.

“Perhaps,” says his Lordship, “as *Hudibras* “had discovered the receptacle of the Ghosts of defunct

“defunct *bodies*, so these Gentlemen may have
 “found the yet subtiler corner where the Ghosts
 “of defunct *qualities* repose.”

It was not well done of his Lordship, to laugh at poor *Hudibras*, whose discoveries were undoubtedly grounded on the theory of his Lordship's fore-elders in the same system, who, being not so subtle as his Lordship in finding out, that, *Death is no place, but only a privation* (e), provided *receptacles* for the Ghosts of defunct bodies; and Hudibras was not worse employed in endeavouring to ascertain the *ubi* of those mansions, than many wiser men. For the rest, the *middle-men* must of necessity fly to the excuse that Mr. *Thomas Edwards* makes for himself, in answer to a charge of dulness brought against him, by the facetious author of certain notes on *Shakespeare*; viz. “Every body has not the wit
 “of the ingenious Mr. *Warburton*; and I confess
 “my self not to be his match in that species of it
 “which he deals out so lavishly in his notes upon
 “all occasions (f).”

And now, candid reader, hath the R. R. author of the *Divine Legation of Moses*, made out his case so clearly, as to acquire a *right* to throw out all this strange abuse upon a set of honest men, who certainly are no *otherwise* intitled to it, than because they differ from him? Do they, for believing *all* and *no more* than they can find in the scriptures,
 con-

(e) Notes upon Hamlet. Vol. viii. Warburton's Edition, p. 142.

(f) Preface to *Canons of Criticism*, Edition 1758. p. 11.

concerning a future state, deserve to be classed with *Polytheists, Infidels, Filthy Dreamers*, writers of *Trash and Nonsense, Middle-men*, men, I suppose, who are neither believers nor unbelievers?

There are in the world very serious and sincere Christians, who think it of no great moment, whether a man believes that the soul *sleeps*, or *is conscious*, in the interval between Death and a Resurrection, provided a Resurrection of the dead, and a judgment to come, are articles of his creed. The R. R. author himself hath acknowledged, that believers rest upon the supposition that the scripture takes the separate existence of the soul for granted, and he gives this for a reason why the doctrine is not expressly mentioned in the sacred writings. Have not the *Revivers* as good a chance of being in the right, in arguing from the silence of the scriptures, that the sacred writers owned no such Doctrine, that they laid the whole stress of the argument for a future state, upon the resurrection of the dead; and that all the silly jargon of the body's wanting a soul, or having a soul united to it, not *numerically* the same, deduced from the supposition of no separate existence, are sufficiently obviated by resolving the whole into the *power and will* of God.

Indeed the R. R. author's friend *Baxter* hath steered clear of all these absurdities, but it is only by *keeping silence* concerning the *reunion of the soul with a glorified body*. Will the R. R. author be pleased to supply *Baxter's* deficiency, and inform us at the same time, why this admired orthodox
philosopher

philosopher was not more explicit upon this important article of the Christian Faith?

To be plain with the R. R. author, a zeal like this which he exhibits, without any just provocation from the parties it is intended to scorch, looks extremely like the zeal of a *profelyte* endeavouring to wipe out every stain of his *old exploded* errors, by being proportionably warm in defence of his newly adopted opinions. Is it impossible?—Is it without all precedent, that a forgetive Genius, foreseeing the obstructive consequences of an unpopular opinion, should vere about, even with some little violence to his own conviction, and embark in the more fashionable vehicle, in order to be wafted down the stream, with safety and approbation to the haven where he would be? looking one way, while he is rowing another, and dealing out ill language to all who sail by him, whom fortune hath not favoured with so good a birth, or so respectable a fare as himself. But there are some people who can give *dignity*, as well as *wit*, to their *Billingsgate*; and these we must leave to the honours of their triumph, on the peril of being called before our betters, for degrading the importance of the principal figure. We now turn to another M. R. author of a more serious cast.

C H A P. XXVII.

Archbishop Secker's xvith Lecture on the church-catechism. Unfortunate in his apologists for his education and intolerant principles. Defends the doctrine of the natural immortality of the soul, by the common hackneyed arguments of men of much inferior reputation. Places the soul in the head. Refers his Catechumens to their Sensibility for the proof of it. Not supported in this by Cicero, to whom he appeals. Inconsistent with himself concerning the sameness of the soul. Argues weakly on the difference between soul and body. His Grace's proof of a future state of rewards and punishments. From an earnest desire of immortality. From the capacities of the soul for higher attainments. Begs the question. Mistakes the meaning of the word Sheol. Argues weakly on a passage in Deuteronomy. At odds with Bp. Warburton concerning the omission of future rewards and punishments in the Old Testament. Suspected of wilful misapplications. Differs from ABp. Wake, on the article of Saint-worship. Cannot rid his hypothesis of the idea of a purgatory. Scaliger's satisfactory account of the doctrine of the early Christians concerning the departed soul. His Grace seems to add a new article to the Apostle's Creed.

Archbishop Secker had been bred among the 1769.
 protestant Dissenters of the presbyterian denomination; and continued long enough a member of their community, to have fixed his principles on
 R their

their system, both of doctrine and discipline; for it does not appear that he left them till he was admitted a scholar of *Exeter* college in *Oxford*, in 1721, which, if he was borne in 1693 or 94, must have been in the 27th or 28th year of his age (g).

When Dr. *Secker* became Archbishop of *Canterbury*, his friends and dependents thought it necessary to represent, that his connections with the Dissenters had been extremely loose and unconfined. For this purpose they asserted, “that he never took
“presbyterian orders, or offered himself to be a
“dissenting minister, nor ever received the com-
“munion in any other than the established
“church (q*).

(g) Never man had more miserable apologists than Archbishop *Secker*. Dr. *Nowell* had said in his answer to *Pietas Oxoniensis*, that his Grace “was admitted Gentleman Commoner of *Exeter* College in April 1721, being then 20 (instead of 28) years old.” The author of *Goliath Slain*, p. 39, is inclined to suspect, that this was a designed mistake of Dr. *Nowell*’s, notwithstanding his correction of it in the *Errata*, for reasons there given. What says Dr. *Nowell* to this? “So it stands,” says he, “in the matriculation book, on the authority of which I inserted it,” and then he gives the extract from the said book, p. 50. of his 2^d. Edition. This indeed is exculpating himself, but it is at the expence of his client. The matriculation book is a public record, in which we must, for the honour of the University, suppose the entries are made with the utmost exactness; and the suspicion of falsification will naturally fall upon the person matriculated, who in the present case might be desirous of concealing from the Oxfordmen, that he had been so long a Dissenter.

(q*) Biographia Britannica, Vol. vi. Part. ii. Art. BUTLER [Joseph] Rem. [D] note (9.)

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There were however some persons living not many years ago, who pretended to remember, that one Mr. S——r preached a probation sermon to a dissenting congregation somewhere in Derbyshire (r), which implied a *design* at least of engaging in the ministry. On the other hand, if his Grace never received the communion among the Dissenters, he must never have received it till he was 28 years of age, which has the appearance of an objection to the ordinance itself, rather than to the mode of administering it among the Dissenters. And indeed his Grace's preferring the medical profession to the evangelical, has, more than once, been ascribed to scruples, wherein *modes* and *forms* were not the only things considered: concerning which nothing, I think, can be inferred, but that he did well to exercise his own judgment in chusing either his creed or his profession, and in rectifying his choice from time to time, as often as his conscience in the one case, or his prudence in the other, suggested to him that he had been mistaken, and had chosen amiss.

If indeed, after he had made his last option, he discovered an inclination to abridge others of that liberty which he himself had taken, it might be inferred, that his Grace had not been equally sincere in his several transitions from one Confession of Faith, from one mode of Discipline, or from one Profession to another; and that human policy had a share either in some of his own conversions, or in his endeavours to enforce conformity upon others to

(r) *Bolsover.*

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that

that system in which he himself thought fit finally to set up (b)."

Be that as it may, in his Grace's situation, it had surely been his wisdom to have kept his hand off
paper

(b) It is to this last point that his Grace's advocates should have confined their apologies and defences, and have denied, and, if they could, falsified the facts from which his Grace's intolerant principles have been inferred with high probability. Instead of this, what do they? Why, truly, to shew how fit he was to be Archbishop of *Canterbury*, they content themselves with proving how little he had been of a Dissenter, and what is still more ridiculous, how little he had been of a Surgeon. What would the world have cared for all that, if his Grace had worthily fulfilled the duties of a truly CHRISTIAN pastor at the head of a PROTESTANT church? Or who, in that case, would have objected to him, either his early education among the Dissenters, or his medical designation? If it had not been objected to certain aspirants to the ministry (in vindication of a cruel expulsion, of which his Grace was supposed not to be unconscious) that they had been bred to *mean* occupations, I am inclined to think it had never been mentioned in print, that his Grace was *educated in the profession of a Man-midwife*. [See *Pietas Oxoniensis*, 1st. Editⁿ. p. 19.] But this secret having taken air, it then became necessary for his Grace's friends to say something to it, to prevent the rigid Canonists from being scandalized. Accordingly Dr. *Nowell*, in his answer to *Pietas Oxoniensis*, p. 49. ed. 2. exhibited a narrative said by him to be drawn up with the Archbishop's own hand, wherein it is acknowledged, that "his Grace had attended one course " of Lectures in Midwifry at *Paris*." This injudicious step, (which, by the way, was ascribed to his Grace's declining faculties) gave occasion to the shrewd and sensible author of *Strictures on Dr. Nowell's Answer to Pietas Oxoniensis*, to observe, " that there is, in a course of practical lectures on
" Midwifry,

paper upon all such points as are exceptionable only as they are not conformable to the common notions of men, who have no better reason for their attachment to them, than the mere reputation of orthodoxy,

“Midwifry, more dirty work to pass through, than is annexed to the business either of a weaver, barber, or taster.” p. 38. His Grace having likewise certified, that “he attended those lectures without intending to practise that or any other branch of Surgery,” mention was made, from another quarter, of a latin tract, intituled, *De Partu difficili*, where the proficiency of the writer appeared to be far beyond the accomplishments of a man who had only studied that branch *theoretically*. What was all this to the public? And how invidious and impertinent would such reflections have appeared, if his Grace had lent a compassionate ear to the petition of Mr. Grove, one of the expelled students, or if in answer to a letter said to have been addressed to him by the *expellers*, his Grace had signified his disapprobation of their proceedings, which indeed were condemned by every true friend to religious liberty in the kingdom? [See, *Goliath Slain*, p. 66, and a letter to Dr. Nowell by the author of *Pietas Oxoniensis*, p. 40, 41.] Again, that his Grace was bred among the Dissenters, had never been remembered to his disadvantage, had not his Grace required subscription and retraction, without any warrant or authority, with respect to opinions no otherwise censurable than as they did not agree with his own system. One of these cases related to the doctrine of an *intermediate state*, which had been controverted in print by a learned and ingenious Gentleman, who had afterwards occasion to apply to his Grace for a dispensation in order to hold a second living. His Grace’s behaviour upon that occasion was such, that one of his advocates thought it necessary to apologize for it in a Monthly Magazine. The *circumstances*, though not unknown to me, I take not upon me to give. The worthy Sufferer is still living, and best qualified to judge

orthodoxy, unless his Grace had abilities to support them, as his brother of G——r has attempted to do, in the way of paradox and buffoonry.

To go into a disquisition of the nature of the separate

how far it is expedient, either to publish, or to suppress them. With respect to another case, I am not under the like restraint; and shall therefore give it just as it was transmitted to me. “ When the late Mr. W. a clergyman of *Kent*, came “ to the Archbishop for a dispensation to hold a second living, “ his Grace took occasion to examine him upon the subject of “ *miracles*, with regard to their duration in the church after “ the days of Christ and his Apostles. Mr. W. frankly told “ him his opinion, that miracles ceased after the times of the “ Apostles, and the spreading of the Gospel through the Roman Empire. The Archbishop would have it, that they “ continued *some centuries* afterwards, and insisted on his retracting his assertion in a formal writing under his hand.” Now what authority had his Grace from any part of the constitution of the church of England, for exercising this pontifical tyranny over the consciences of these two Gentlemen, with respect to either of these points? Is the church of England explicit in any of her forms of doctrine, either concerning *an intermediate state*, or the *duration of miraculous powers* in the church after the days of the Apostles? Indeed an Inquisitor of heretical pravity in the church of Rome, would have an interest in plaguing and forcing retractions from men who thus sapped the foundations of purgatory and saint-worship, and the credit of those monstrous Legends, by which these infamous Craftsmen have their wealth. But nothing can be a greater reproach to the *Protestant* church of England than to suppose, she puts it into the power of any of her Governors to lay down *arbitrary* positions in theology, under the notion of preserving orthodoxy, and then to vex and distress those who refuse to agree with them, and that from a conviction in their own minds, that such positions have no grounds

parate soul, with no other materials than the hackneyed ones, employed and blunted in the hands of every minute essayist, and frothy declaimer on the subject, must give suspicions, that his Grace was urged to the contest, by no other motive than the expediency of supporting the system of the Church at all events, suspicions but too probably confirmed by the feebleness of his Grace's operations in his 16th lecture, which indeed appear to be below the mediocrity even of *Goddard*, *Steffe*, *Morton*, and the rest of the lower class of writers, whose abilities could not be supposed to come in any competition with his Grace, if one thousandth part of what his panegyrists have said of his Grace's talents, were true.

His Grace's proposition is,—*That the souls of all men continue after death* (i). And his argument is thus exhibited.

“ We are every one of us capable of perceiving
 “ and thinking, judging and resolving, loving
 “ and hating, hoping and fearing, rejoicing and
 “ grieving. That part of us which doth these

grounds either in scripture or reason. These indeed are inquisitorial features which strike through the thickest varnish his Grace's ingenious Biographers can plaister over his natural complexion. And after these manœuvres got wind, is it any marvel that it should be remembered, his Grace was a *Profelyte*, and one of that zealous sort who are eager to prove the sincerity of their conversion, by persecuting all who are less pliable to their politics.

(i) Lectures on the Catechism of the Church of *England*, published by Messieurs *Porteus* and *Stinten*, 1769. p. 248.

“ things, we call the mind or soul. Now, plainly,
 “ this is not the body. Neither our Limbs, nor
 “ our Trunk, nor even our Head, is what under-
 “ stands, and reasons, and wills, and likes, and dis-
 “ likes: but something that hath its abode within
 “ the head, and is unseen. A little consideration
 “ will make any of you *sensible* of this.”

This is pleasant. To refer his audience to their *senses*, to understand the nature of an *unseen something* in their heads! For had his Grace been interrogated farther on this matter, he would, doubtless, have acknowledged, that the soul could no more be *heard, felt, tasted, or smelled*, than it could be *seen*. How then could his Grace suppose, that a little consideration should make any of them *sensible* of all this? His Grace does not depend even upon his own *sensibility* for the verification of his assertion, that this something of a soul has its abode within the head, but sends us to *Tully's Tusculan Disputations*, L. i. c. 29. where the speaker, without alledging his own *sensibility*, or appealing to that of others, only says, *he could bring reasons* for his belief (k). But if we are to take *Cicero's* bare word

(k) Such reasons, probably, as *Erasmus* brings. *Amputato pede, intelligit animus.—At qui vehementem plagam accipit in tempus capitis, aut in occipitium, concidit mortuo similis, omnique sensu suo vacat. Ex hoc colligis intra cranium esse intellectus, voluntatis et memoriæ organa, minus quidem crassa quam aures et oculi, sed tamen materialia. Quandoquidem et spiritus quos habemus in corpore subtilissimos, corporales sunt.* Colloqu. PUERPERA. If by such experimental reasoning as this we are made *sensible* that the soul is seated in the head, will

word for the *seat* of the soul, why not for every thing else that he says about it? His Grace says, “it is not the body which loves and hates, hopes and fears, rejoices and grieves, that part of us,”

will it not follow, that the soul is *material*? Where shall we draw the line of distinction between *animus* and *intellectus*, as *Erasmus* hath here stated the case? If it be said, that it is the operation of the immaterial soul upon these material organs that produces the intellectual faculty, we may be permitted to ask, why the operation of the soul does not produce the same kind or degree of intellect, from the same sort of organs in brute animals? *Erasmus* himself, in the latter part of this colloquy, says, that the *Aristotelic* definition of the soul agrees equally with the soul of a brute, and the soul of a man; and he adds, as of himself, *Ne ratione quidem distinguitur bovis ab hominis anima, sed quod boum minus sapit quam hominum; quemadmodum videre est et homines, qui minus sapiunt quam bos.* It will hardly be sufficient to say, that the organs themselves are dissimilar in brutes, and in men. “Anatomists,” says an ingenious and able naturalist, “whether they consider the brain as an instrumental or efficient cause of intelligence, are agreed in acknowledging a great resemblance between the contents of the human Cranium, and those of Quadrupeds; and Putius hath proved, contrary to the opinion embraced by Pliny, and commonly received, that we have not that medullary substance in greater proportion than other animals.” Dr. *Watson's* Essay on the Subjects of *Chemistry*, p. 41, 42. *Sensibilities* of this sort, obliged a certain writer, not over forward to make concessions, to acknowledge, that “the same arguments which prove the immateriality of the human soul, prove likewise, that the souls of all living animals are immaterial; and this too,” adds the learned man, “without the least injury to religion.” Whereupon he was asked, what system of religion would be *injured*, supposing the immateriality of the soul could not be demonstrated? To which no answer hath hitherto appeared.

faith

saith his Grace, “ which doth these things, we
 “ call the mind or soul.” *Cicero* however informs
 us, that the mind or soul, when separated from the
 body, will be *destitute* of *these things*, and conse-
 quently incapable of *doing* them; and that the
agency of the body is necessary in all these opera-
 tions (*l*). The same is the account given by others
 of the heathen writers, who, with respect to the
 separate soul, were in a very different system from
 that here adopted by *Cicero*. So *Virgil*;

Igneus est ollis vigor, et cælestis origo
 Seminibus, quantum non noxia corpora tardant,
 Terrenique hebetant artus, moribundaquo membra.
Hinc metuunt, cupiuntque, dolent, gaudentque, &c. (*m*).

By which account the soul derives all its passions
 and affections, all its feelings and sensibilities, from
 the organs of the body. Out of its union with
 the body, it will neither have fears nor desires, joys
 nor sorrows, love nor hatred. And hence again
 it follows, that the body *doth these things* as much
 as the soul. And his Grace having deserted his
 Masters in these points, ought certainly to have
 brought something more than his own *ipse dixit* in
 proof of his doctrine, lest others, making use of
 their own liberty as well as his Grace, should take

(*l*) Cumque corporis facibus inflammari soleamus ad omnes
 fere cupiditates,—profecto beati erimus cum corporibus relic-
 tis, et cupiditatum et æmulationum erimus expertes. *Ibid.* c. 19.

(*m*) *Æneid.* VI. 731.

a fancy to assert, that the seat of the soul is within the Thorax.

“Then further,” says his Grace, “our Bodies increase, from an unconceivable smallness to a very large bulk, and waste away again, and are changing each part of them, more or less, every day. Our souls, we know, continue all the while the same.”

According to this account, the soul must be as much the *same*, during the *unconceivable smallness* of body, as when the body is grown to its most considerable bulk; that is to say, it must be equally capable at both periods of perceiving and thinking, judging and resolving, &c. When his Grace, however, found it expedient to give a reason why it was necessary to *lecture* his congregation, he thought fit to say, “We all come into the world *ignorant* of the rules and doctrines of religion,” (and consequently of every thing else,) “because our faculties are so weak at the first, and gain strength so slowly (*n*).” Now what *faculties* are these? evidently, the faculties of that *something* which perceives and thinks, judges and resolves, that is, according to the Archbishop, the faculties of the soul. Either, therefore, his Grace must be mistaken with respect to the *weakness* of these faculties at the first, and the *ignorance* thence resulting, or the soul can no more continue *all the while* the same, than the body can: Unless he would have said, that the soul continues the same with or without its facul-

(*n*) Lecture 1. p. 2.

ties. Till this point is settled, all that his Grace advances concerning the *sameness* of the soul after the amputation of Limbs, an universal Palsy, &c. is nothing to the purpose, and implies no more than, that in those cases, the common sensorium is left sound and unhurt.

“And though,” says his Grace, “some diseases
“do indeed disorder the mind, there is no appear-
“ance that any have a tendency to destroy it. *On*
“*the contrary*, the greatest disorders of the under-
“standing are often accompanied with firm health
“and strength of body.”

On the contrary, indeed! Had his Grace employed himself to prove, that the body might continue after the faculties of the soul are extinguished, this instance would have been to his purpose. But how it should appear, from these circumstances, that the extinction of the faculties of the soul hath no tendency to destroy it, is just as hard to conceive, as it is, that the *body*, “in firm health and strength,” should be *diseased*.

Again. “The most fatal distempers of the body
“are attended, to the very moment of death, with
“all possible vigour and liveness of understand-
“ing.”

Is this universally true? Is it true in any case where the brain is affected? But perhaps his Grace might reply, that the *head* is no part of the *body*.

Well, and what is the conclusion? “Since,
“therefore, these two are plainly different things,
“though we knew no further, there would be no
“reason

“ reason to conclude that one of them dies, be-
 “ cause the other doth.

But if they were ever so plainly different things, (which his Grace hath not proved) unless his Grace could have proved that they were two things *independent* on each other, there is sufficient reason to conclude, that one of them dies, *because* the other doth.

“ But,” continues his Grace, “ since we do know
 “ further, that it can *survive* so many changes of
 “ the other, this alone affords a fair probability,
 “ that it may survive the great change of Death.”

The value of which reasoning depends on this, that the body *does not survive* the several changes mentioned above; *viz.* its increase from *smallness* to *bulk*, the loss of a Limb, or the stroke of a Palsy. For what argument can be drawn in favour of the continuation of the soul, from a *survivance* which is equally shared by the body as the soul?

“ But we can perceive no change in the soul at
 “ the time when the body dies; to imagine, *there-*
 “ *fore*, that the soul dies with it, must be ground-
 “ less.”

His Grace, indeed, had taken sufficient care that we should not *perceive* any change in the soul, *at that time* when the body dies, by inclosing it in the head, where it remains *unseen*. But however the hardest skulls are penetrable, and some have been laid open pretty widely before the death of the body; and the contents of others have been examined after the death of the body, with great accuracy of investigation. In neither case could I
 ever

ever hear the soul was discovered, or the seat which she had occupied. It is in vain to inquire after the *changes* of a being, of whose *existence* we can bring no proof. But his Grace himself hath cut short the dispute. The faculties of the soul, he allows, increase from *weakness* to *strength*, as well as the Limbs of the body, and in union with it. And this being allowed, it is not a negative argument that will prove, the soul does not die with the body.

“Almost as groundless,” quoth his Grace, “as
 “if having frequently heard the music of an Or-
 “gan, but never seen the person that played on it,
 “we should suppose him dead, on finding the In-
 “strument incapable of playing any more. *For* the
 “Body is an instrument adapted to the soul.”

Is it so? Then how should the soul *play* without its instrument? The *Organist*, indeed, may find *another* Instrument; but I do not think his Grace meant to prove *transmigration*. Besides if any man doubted whether the hitherto invisible Organist were dead, he might be *made sensible* of the contrary, by a sort of proof, which the soul-sleeper would hardly expect from the Archbishop, *viz.* the exhibition of the Organist himself.

“His Grace has no reason to imagine the soul
 “made up of parts, though the body is, and the
 “acutest reasoners judge, that what perceives and
 “wills, must be one uncompounded substance, and
 “consequently, cannot be dissolved, and therefore
 “probably cannot die.”

Tully, therefore, must be mistaken who assigns
 place

place to the soul; if *place* hath *parts*, so must the occupant of *place*, and as his Grace hath adopted *Tully's* hypothesis, the *acute reasoners*, he mentions, would certainly tell him, he had by that adoption, precluded himself from the benefit of their conclusions.

Here his Grace leaves his arguments for the separate existence of the soul, and betakes himself to the proof of a future state of rewards and punishments, though he cannot, even here, make good his ground without having recourse to revelation. His business had been to ground his proof upon “the nature of the soul, and the earnest desire planted in our *breasts* of immortality, and a horror at the thought of ceasing to be.”

Should not his Grace have said, “planted in our *heads*.” An orator might be indulged in a figurative expression. But when a metaphysical reasoner changes his terms, he throws all into confusion, as here, it is something in the *Trunk*, and not in the *Head*, which desires and abhors, contrary to what is asserted above.

“It is true,” says his Grace, “we dread *also* the Death of our bodies, and yet we own they must die; and that they shall live again, wonderfully improved.”

True, but whence do we know this? From express revelation. And if this had not been sufficient to satisfy our earnest desire of immortality, revelation would have been equally explicit in teaching the *separate life* of the soul, which his Grace very well knew it is not, though his Grace intimates
by

by the word *also*, that we dread the death of our souls, as much at least, as the death of our bodies.

His Grace's next flourish is upon, "the capacities *in our souls*, for vastly higher improvements both in knowledge and goodness, than any one arrives at in this life. The best inclined, and the most industrious," says his Lordship, "have not near time enough to become what they could be. And is it likely that Beings, qualified for doing so much, should have so little opportunity for it, and sink into nothing, without ever attaining their proper maturity and perfection?"

It must here be supposed, that the soul has these *capacities* distinct from, and independent on the capacities of the body, that improvements in knowledge and goodness are wholly the work of the soul, and that the inclination and industry to become what the soul could be, *if it had time*, have nothing to do with the body, even as an instrument; and then the consequence must be, that the soul's attainment of its maturity and perfection, will be in a state of *separate existence*. For the reader will observe, that it is only *want of time*, in his Grace's account, that prevents its attainment of maturity and perfection in this state of being, *a want of time*, which is occasioned merely by the decay and mortality of the body. A system which precludes all notion of the resurrection of the *dead*, as necessary to complete the felicity, and accomplish the perfection of the compound man.

But now if, in contradiction to this wild and arbitrary hypothesis, you admit the body into a share
of

of these capacities, improvements, and industry, so as to create ever so inconsiderable a mutuality of operation between them, the presumption will be, that the capacities of the soul must follow the fortunes of the capacities of the body ; as indeed is evident from the decline, and sometimes the almost total extinction of the human capacities of all sorts, in extreme old age.

What follows, retailing only the common topics, of proving a future state of rewards and punishments, from the present unequal distribution of them, and retailing them in so loose and rambling a way, as doth no great credit to his Grace as a writer, may be passed by ; reminding myself and the reader, that his Grace's position, being, that *the souls of all men continue after death*, we have no occasion to accompany his Grace in his excursions from that point.

His Grace attempts, p. 225, to rectify a wrong translation in our English Bibles, *Genesis xxxvii. 35*, where the Hebrew word *Sheol*, [in the Greek *αἶδης*] is rendered *the grave* ; “ as if,” says his Grace, “ he “ [*Jacob*] meant to have his body laid by him “ [*Joseph*], that could not be, for he thought him “ devoured by wild beasts ; it means, into the invisible state, the state of departed souls.” Where we are to suppose, departed souls *have time* to improve their capacities to *maturity* and *perfection*.

To this fancy it will be sufficient to oppose the sentiments of the learned author of *Considerations on the Theory of Religion*. Appendix, p. 406, edit. 1765.

“ These phrases, since they are used of whole ge-
 “ nerations, [Judges ii. 10.] as also of men who
 “ led very different lives, or, which, in this case,
 “ comes to the same thing, different from their re-
 “ spective ancestors, (as in the former text, *Gen.* xv.
 “ 15,) and whose bodies were disposed of in a dif-
 “ ferent manner, (as in the latter, *Gen.* xxxvii. 35,)
 “ or deposited in places very remote from each
 “ other (as in both cases) can only mean the *general*
 “ *state of the dead*; in which they are as often said
 “ to *sleep* with their Fathers, &c.” which is second-
 ed by the authority of *Le Clerc*, *Whitby*, and *Bar-*
row (o). And yet, though this is so plain a case, his
 Grace

(o) “ I say further,” saith *Barrow*, “ that this word
 “ [*Sheol*, or *ᾗδης*] according to ancient use, seems not to sig-
 “ nify the place whither men’s souls do go, or where they
 “ abide; for that it can hardly be made appear that the
 “ ancient *Hebrews* either had any name appropriated to the
 “ place of Souls, or did conceive distinctly which way they
 “ did go.” Works, 1700. Vol. ii. p. 365. *Le Clerc*, like-
 wise having commented on this passage with great learning
 and precision, concludes his notes thus. *Quid autem de eo*
aut statu, aut loco mortuorum crederet Jacobus, nulla ex
historiæ circumstantia satis certo excudere, neque ex eo quod
ea de re sentimus, de ejus sententia, tuto judicare possumus.
In loc. “ When a man dies,” saith *Whitby*, “ his *life*, in
 “ the scripture phrase, is said to go down to *Hades*, to *the*
 “ *Pit*, or into *the house of silence*; and when he is snatched
 “ from the gates of death, his *life* is said to be brought or
 “ lifted upon from *Hades*, or the grave.—Thus Jacob saith,
 “ *Gen.* xxxvii. 35. I will go down to *Sheol* to my son,
 “ mourning, *καταβησομαι εἰς ᾗδον*, I will descend to Hell,
 “ saith the seventy, *lebi chebortha*, to the sepulchre. So Jo-
 “ nathan, that I may be in the state of the dead, as my son
 “ is.”

Grace scruples not to send whole generations, good and bad, wise and foolish, to this invisible state of departed souls.

“ In the time of Moses,” saith his Grace, “ we find, that even the heathens had a strong notion of another life. For they had built a superstitious practice upon it, of seeking to the dead, and inquiring of them concerning things to come. A foolish and wicked custom indeed ; but however it shews the belief was deeply rooted in them.” *Lect. xvi. p. 256.*

But, if their *belief* was well grounded, where was either the folly or the wickedness of the *custom*? The belief was founded on the principles of their Theology and Philosophy ; the same principles on which the Dæmon-worship of the Pagans was, and that of the Papists is supported to this day. And Moses was wiser than to condemn the

“ is.” On *Acts* ii. 26, 27. These authorities could hardly escape his Grace’s *indefatigable diligence*, and he surely should have said something to take off the weight of them, before he had imputed so gross a mistake to the English translators. That there are mistakes in our English translation of the Bible is certain, and some have thought them so numerous and so material, as to call for a new version. His Grace had influence enough with the most prejudiced to promote so necessary a work, and one would hope he had a better reason for suspending his aid and his interest towards setting it forward, than I have heard alledged by some of his Grace’s admirers, namely, that the Epistles and Gospels in the Common-prayer book must be conformed to the new version, which could not be done without some alteration of *the Act of Uniformity*, and *that* must not be ventured on any account.

custom, and yet acknowledge the truth of the principle, which must have been, according to his Grace, the separate existence of the soul; for I suppose his Grace would hardly allow, that these people *inquired* of a dead carcase, or that they had the art to bring up from the dead, the compound man. I consider therefore this as only an instance of that universality of persuasion, *that the souls of men continue after death*, which his Grace insists upon, p. 258. as including the Jews as well as the Gentiles. Whereas from this instance it appears, that whatever some of the Jews, who were deluded by the doctrine of the Gentiles, might believe, such of them as believed the doctrine of Moses, must have utterly rejected the principle, as well as the custom. And indeed with respect to the Heathens themselves, his Grace must have been very little conversant with the philosophic writers among them, or he would hardly have made the parade he does with this *universality*, or have ventured to derive it by way of *tradition*, from God himself (*p*).

As to the reasons his Grace gives, why there are no *direct* promises in the Old Testament of future recompenses, if his learned editors are disposed to abide by his account, I must leave them to the castigation of the author of the *Divine Legation of Moses*, who, though he is disposed to say, that the natural immortality of the soul was *sufficiently* known to be *taken for granted*, will hardly admit, that this

(*p*) See Cudworth's Intellectual System *passim*.

was the case with future rewards and punishments, as his Grace asserts, p. 256 (q).

It would be too disrespectful to the character of a prelate who was at the head of our Christian community, to expose his Grace's *mistaken* interpretations of scripture in this 16th Lecture. In these, we charitably hope his *will* was not concerned. But the same measure of tenderness is certainly not due to wilful misapplications, from which he can hardly be excused in some instances; as, when citing, 2 *Tim.* i. 10, he adds the word *perfect*; as if the Christian revelation was given, as a certain writer hath expressed it, only *to hold the candle to the fragments of philosophy*. Nor could his Grace be ignorant, with the text, 1 *Pet.* i. 8, before him, that *the joy unspeakable, and full of glory*, there spoken of, hath no relation to an *intermediate state*, but to the *rejoicing* of the faithful in this life, on the assurance of obtaining the *end* of their faith, the salvation of their souls or lives. Nor is his Grace more fortunate in applying the *looking for of judgment and fiery indignation*, Heb. x. 27, to the wicked in an intermediate state of misery, when it so manifestly belongs to those *who sin wilfully, after they have received the knowledge of the truth, in the present*

(q) "A Life to come," says his Grace, "is not mentioned in the Laws of our own nation neither, though we know they were made by such as professed firmly to believe it." If this be true, I am afraid his Grace did not sufficiently conform to the Laws of his nation, as often as process was issued in his name, *touching the soul's health* of the party who was *cited to answer*.

life. These can hardly be considered in any other light, than that of *deliberate misapplications* for the purpose of giving a colour among the ignorant and unwary *Catechumeni*, to a favourite hypothesis.

Among other things which have been objected to the doctrine of an intermediate state, the countenance it affords to Popish saint-worship, and the doctrine of purgatory, is not the least considerable.

His Grace, to reconcile his system with the negative of these two points, takes into consideration several texts of scripture, usually urged by the papists in proof of their purgatory, and among the rest, 1 *Pet.* iii. 18, 19, 20, on which his Grace thus comments.

“ *The spirits in prison*, to whom St Peter saith,
 “ *Christ by his spirit preached*, he saith also, were
 “ the disobedient in the days of *Noah*, with whom
 “ his spirit strove, whilst they were on this earth,
 “ and who, for their disobedience, were sent, not
 “ to purgatory, but to a worse confinement.”

What was this *worse confinement*? His Grace informs us below, *they were*, like the devils, *delivered into chains of darkness*, to be reserved unto judgment, which he makes to be the intermediate condition of *all* the wicked.

On this *concession*, the papist observes very shrewdly, that Christ would hardly preach to any spirits under an impossibility of their receiving benefit by his preaching, which must be the case of those who are irrevocably doomed to final condemnation. His Grace, in avoiding the proof of purgatory grounded on this text, gives a most disparaging idea either
 of

of the want of power, or a perverseness of will in the gracious Redeemer of the world. If he could not deliver these spirits from their prison, to what purpose should he preach to them, unless it were to insult them in their misery? Indeed his Grace, by granting this *intermediate confinement*, to which he supposed this text to be favourable, brought himself into a strange dilemma. Had he granted, that repentance, and consequently deliverance, might be the fruits of this preaching, a *purgatory* was the consequence; and this consequence he could not avoid, but either by insisting, that this text has nothing to do with *intermediate confinement*, which would be disparaging his hypothesis, or by giving up the efficacy of the preaching of Christ in a case, where Christ was on the benevolent errand of giving deliverance to the captives.

Again, "When many of the ancient christians," saith his Grace, "prayed for the dead; besides
 "that they had no warrant for so doing, it was on-
 "ly for the completion of their happiness, whom
 "they apprehended to be already in paradise; it
 "was for the apostles, saints, and martyrs, for the
 "blessed virgin herself; whom they certainly did
 "not think to be in purgatory. And observe, if
 "they prayed *for* them, they did not pray *to*
 "them."

Archbishop *Wake* however, imagined the ancient Christians had *some* warrant for praying for the dead; for he says, "If any one will put up his particular requests for the dead, for any of those
 "ends for which the primitive Christians did, we

“ [*protestants*] shall not condemn him.” Dr. *Secker* must have allowed, that they had the warrant of *tradition*, of that tradition at least, which delivered down to all mankind the *uniform* doctrine of a *separate existence of souls*, which, he thought, came from God.

Dr. *Secker* mentions one only end which these Christians had in view, when they prayed for the dead, namely, “ the completion of the happiness “ of those whom they apprehended to be already “ in paradise.” But Dr. *Wake*, who appears to have known a little more of the sentiments of these ancient Christians than his successor, assures us, that they had several ends, and among others, the end “ of maintaining a kind of *fellowship* and *communion* with them,” and we know from other hands, that they prayed for those, whom they did *not* apprehend to be in paradise.

His Grace says, “ the ancient Christians certainly did not think that the apostles, saints, and “ martyrs were in purgatory.” But this is not quite so certain ; as will presently be seen. “ And “ observe,” says his Grace, “ if they prayed for “ them, they did not pray *to* them.” How then could they maintain any kind of fellowship and communion with them ; as they proposed to do by the intercourse of prayer ? Unless Archbishop *Wake* was mistaken (r).

Every

(r) If one may not say without offence, that *Joseph Scaliger* knew the sentiments of the ancient Christians better than either of these Prelates, we may at least be permitted to observe,

Every man who loves his country, must wish to see the great offices in church and state filled with able as well as upright men. And it cannot but mortify a well-wisher to the public, to find an eminent

serve, that he hath given a more particular account of them, which the learned reader will not, perhaps, be displeased to peruse in his own words. Omnes veteres Christiani, etiam infra ætatem Augustini, (pudet me ignorantia) putabant animas tam piorum quam impiorum, in centro terræ, tanquam in quodam conceptaculo expectare diem judicii, quod Tertullianus eleganter dixit, *In candida expectare diem judicii*, ut candidati magistratum ambientes expectabant suffragia tribuum aut centuriarum. Tertullianus quater profitetur eam opinionem in libris suis, nimirum eam quæ tunc omnium fuit super ea re. Augustinus vero amplissimè in Enchiridio; *Tempus quod inter hominis mortem et ultimam resurrectionem interpositum est, animas abditis receptaculis continet, sicut quaque digna est vel requie vel ærumna, pro eo quod sortita est in carne dum viveret*. Neque aliter Lactantius, et alii omnes; prærogativam tamen dant Martyribus, quos uno saltu recta in paradysum deferri volunt; et hoc beneficio usum latronem illum, cui dominus eo die condixit. Quid alias ineptias patrum majorum gentium dicam, quæ non doctorum ecclesiæ, sed ne cujuspiam de vulgo Christianitatis esse deberent? Ex eo errore fero tandem propagata est Christi *καταβασις εἰς ἄδου*; et quicquid inscitia bonarum literarum solet *τερᾶλνεσθαι* in Christianismo. Quum igitur ita animati essent de carcere animarum piarum, impiarum, magna incessebat eos homines sollicitudo carore suorum, qui jam defuncti, in ea loca penetraverant, super suspiriis et anxio desiderio quo putabant eos conflictari, expectantes in candida diem judicii, ut cum Tertulliano loquar. Ita unusquisque satagebat pro fratre, patre, sorore defunctis, et annua in die [*s. offerebat*] pro illis, et, ut ait Tertullianus, adpostulabat aliquod refrigerium in die resurrectionis; quod refrigerium quale sit, ne ipsis quidem puto

ment Prelate at the head of our ecclesiastical Polity, so strangely *inefficient* upon a point, without the establishment of which, so many of our public forms of doctrine and worship must lie under the

puto constabat : ita bonis in eo carcere male esse, ne ipsi quidem putabant, ut etiam testatur Tertullianus, pro malis autem orare, ne animum quidem induxissent, pro caris enim afferebant [*f. offerebant*]. Quater aut quinquies illius vesaniæ meminit Tertullianus ; eosque locos ineptissimi homines non verentur hodie objicere, cum oblationem pro mortuis et fabulam πυρκαθαρηρίου defendunt. Neque enim advertunt non posse se locos illos probare, quin statim et carcerem animarum piarum et impiarum probent. Præterea, illis omnibus locis Tertulliani, Cypriani, Augustini probatur eam oblationem ευχαριστικην, non ιλασικην fuisse. Et ut ait Augustinus, *non erat præsidium salutis, sed humanitatis officium, quo nemo unquam carnem suam odio habuit.* Et tamen cum ita scripserit, alibi aliter dicit, oblitus fui scilicet in re nugatoria, quam consuetudine, non autoritate scripturæ poterat defendere. *Pro valde bonis, inquit, gratiarum actiones sunt, pro non valde malis, propitiationes sunt ; pro valde malis, etsi nulla sunt adjumenta mortuorum, tamen vivorum consolationes sunt.* Hæc valde nugatoria sunt. Igitur veteres putabant annuâ die orandum aliquod refrigerium suis, quamdiu expectabant diem judicii in illis specubus terræ abditissimis. Sed antiquius, puta propius tempora Apostolorum, nescio an par dementia fuit, offerre pro refrigerio carorum. SCALIGER. Not. in 1 Cor. xv. 29. But *mad* as this practice was, and *nugatory* as St. Austin's account of it may be, we are to consider, that these circumstances afforded the two Archbishops the only evidence they had, that the primitive Christians believed the *separate existence of the soul.* Dr. Secker seems to have taken his cue from his Predecessor Wake, as far as he safely could. Wake thought the *practice* of the ancient Christians a sufficient warrant for any thing. Dr. Secker chose not to go along with

the fufpicion of error and unſcriptural deciſion. Some people perhaps may think his Grace had done wiſely to have abſtained from meddling with the ſubject at all. Be that as it may, he certainly had done wiſely not to have attempted to add a new article to the apoſtle's creed, namely, *The Continuation of the Souls of all Men*, for which the two articles at the head of his xvith lecture afforded him not the leaſt temptation.

with him in this, at leaſt, not ſo far as the opinion would have carried him. And yet he no ſooner leaves him, than he falls into the groſſeſt errors. *Scaliger*, as may be ſeen above, knew that by *Paradiſe*, the ancients meant the ſtate of ſupreme felicity, and that they lodged the penitent thief there, as well as the Martyrs. And ſo knew *Dr. Wake*, and on that account ſays, “ they were not ſuppoſed to touch at Purgatory.” But *Dr. Secker* makes *paradiſe* an intermediate, incomplete ſtate of happineſs, unconſcious of that hidden central *conceptaculum*, in which the ancient Chriſtians confined the departed ſouls of good and bad promiſcuouſly, and to which their *poſtulationes et oblationes pro refrigerio carorum* had reſpect. Nor indeed do theſe ancient chriſtians, at leaſt according to *Scaliger's* account, ſeem to have had any conception of any other intermediate ſtate.

C H A P. XXVIII.

Dr. Jortin's *sermons*, vol. 2. *serm.* 19. *What weight and force in the philosophical arguments for the natural immortality of the soul. How far the early Christians espoused this doctrine. The Doctor acknowledges the scripture evidence for it rises no higher than probability. Some texts examined. What was the doctrine of the Sadducees. More texts examined. The testimony of the Fathers of the church. Weakened by what the Doctor himself says of it elsewhere. The evidence of ancient liturgies considered. The Doctor not clear as to the intermediate punishment of the wicked. Proposes a compromise. An intimation in favour of Transmigration. Dr. Jortin more ingenuous concerning the intermediate state, than other writers on that subject. The Doctor's argument grounded upon the history of Christ's transfiguration, considered. The Pnychnychists not much beholden to Dr. Jortin. His *elogium*.*

WE are now to exhibit a writer of far superior abilities, one who was completely qualified to do justice to any subject he undertook to handle, and to whose remains a kind of veneration is due, even though they are only the *scriniorum quisquilæ*, which zealous friends to deceased geniuses sometimes expose to public view, with less judgment than affection.

Among the posthumous sermons of the late excellent

cellent Doctor JORTIN, appears one (s), upon *Matth. xxii. 32. God is not the God of the dead, but of the living*, which words, the Doctor tells his audience, “ were spoken by our Saviour, — with a “ view to establish the doctrines of the soul’s immor-
“ tality, a future state, and a resurrection.”

There is not, however, a word or a hint in the whole context, concerning the soul’s immortality; and the future state which our Saviour’s argument in this place, tends to establish, is *that* future state only, which is subsequent to the resurrection of the dead. But this by the way.

From these words, the Doctor takes occasion to discuss two important points. “ 1. That the soul of
“ man subsists after death, and hath *some place of*
“ *abode* allotted to it till the resurrection.”——
2. “ That this intermediate state is, in all probabi-
“ lity, not a state of insensibility to the souls of the
“ righteous, but of thought and self-consciousness,
“ and consequently of content and happiness in a
“ certain degree.”

In the next page, the Doctor thinks, “ the ar-
“ guments taken from the light of reason, and the
“ nature of the soul, considered as an active, simple,
“ uncompounded, immaterial substance, have much
“ weight and force.”

If so, it may be questioned beforehand, whether the arguments tending to prove *the allotment of a place of abode* for the separate soul, have *any* weight or force. For these masters of reason who are so in-

(s) It is the 19th of the second volume.

timately acquainted with the nature of the soul, explain the words, *simple* and *uncompounded*, so as to imply *indivisibility*. But what is indivisible is without parts, and not an inhabitant of *place*.

In the second proposition, the Doctor hath expressed himself with modesty and diffidence. He grounds it only on *high probability*, and limits the self-consciousness of an intermediate state, to the souls of the righteous. The reason of which will appear by and by.

Having stated the opinion of those who think differently from him, he says, "This is not a novel notion, and the product of our inquisitive times. It was espoused of old by some Christians, though rejected by a great majority, and condemned as an heretical doctrine." p. 371.

I do not believe the Doctor meant it; but without doubt his audience would take him to mean, "that a great majority of the ancient Christians condemned the opinion of the sleep, or insensibility of the separate soul, as an *heretical* opinion." Whereas, indeed, ecclesiastical history affords but one instance of any public decision of the question, at least as far as ever I could learn, and that was in a synod assembled in *Arabia*, where *Origen* was present, and by his disputation, prevailed with those who thought, "that the human soul died and was corrupted with the body, and would be restored with the body at the Resurrection, to change their minds (t)." It does not appear, that any condemna-

(t) Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. vi. cap. 37.

tion of that opinion, as *heretical*, was pronounced in that synod, nor is it mentioned, whether it was determined to be erroneous on scripture principles, or on those of the Platonic System, for which *Origen* was a zealous champion. As the *orthodox* Arabians had sent so far for *Origen*, to maintain a cause, for the support of which they found themselves insufficient, they could do no less than give him the honour of the victory.

On another hand, if *Scaliger* and a hundred others, knew any thing of the sentiments of the ancient Christians, their opinion was, that the situation of departed souls was so far from being a state of content and happiness, in *any* degree, that it was a state of great *anxiety*, the state of *candidates*, expecting the day of determination with conflicts of hope and fear, what might be their final Lot. Add to this, that their *place of abode*, the subterraneous receptacle of souls, received the good and the bad promiscuously, martyrs excepted, whom they sent to *Paradise* at once. The *consequence*, therefore, drawn in Dr. *Jortin's* second proposition, must, among these ancient Christians, have smelted of the Faggot.

The worthy preacher acknowledges, that there have been wise and good christians, persons of piety and abilities, who, at different periods, have held those opinions mentioned to be condemned as *heretical*.—These men and their notions he is far from *insulting*.

As if there were any thanks due to any man for forbearing to insult *wise*, and *good*, and *pious*, and
able

able men! Or might the Doctor mean this as a gentle reproof to those choice spirits who *have* insulted them, some of whom had occasionally insulted himself? Let those, however, whom it may concern, take this in good part, *return civility with civility*, and forbear to insult the Doctor, and then all will be so far even, unless perhaps the Doctor might think, that his *moderation* in this matter was no ordinary favour to persons charged more lately, as well as of old, with holding an heretical Doctrine; if that was his sentiment, these men may easily get out of his debt, by forbearing to shew (what undoubtedly they have it in their power to shew) how directly the Doctor's hypothesis leads to Purgatory, Dæmonolatry, and other *catholicisms* of that venerable family.

“ The intermediate state between death and the resurrection,” says the Doctor, “ is a subject of inquiry, upon which the scriptures have not said so much as one would wish.”

Undoubtedly *not so much as one would wish*, who is desirous to prove an intermediate state from the scriptures; much less, as *one would wish*, who thinks the dispensation of man's redemption from death, imperfect without it. This latter, indeed, is what the worthy Doctor does not think; but as he must have wished to prove his propositions, the concession is at least fair and candid, and leaves room to suppose, that if the sacred writers had thought the doctrine either true or important, they would certainly have treated it more directly and fully.

It

It seems, however, they have said enough upon it to make it a doubtful point; and what they have said, appears so favourable to the Doctor's side of the question, that "he is persuaded the probability lies there." And this he goes on to shew from a set of texts which occur in the New Testament.

As these texts have been hackneyed by almost every professed writer on the affirmative side of this point, and all of them differently interpreted by their opponents, we shall make only a few remarks upon some of them, relative to the *proper use* which the worthy Doctor says may be made of them; and we will begin with his text. *Matth. xxii. 32. God is not the God of the Dead, but of the Living.*

Now to make a proper use of this text, it would have been but fair to have mentioned, that there is a clause added to it, *Luke xx. 38. For all live unto him*, which conveys a very different idea of our Saviour's meaning, from what it appears to be as the Doctor's text stands alone in St. Matthew's gospel, and shews to demonstration, that our Lord had here no consideration in his mind, of the *separate existence* of the soul.

The Doctor himself hath observed, that "another living state of the same *person*, after this, and besides this present state, is as much as the word *resurrection* (u), considered in itself, ever implies (x)." have

This *living state of the same person*, then, must

(u) ἀναστασις.

(x) p. 376.

have been (if this observation is just) what the *Sadducees* denied; and as, without doubt, they considered the *persons* of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, as in a state of death, it would not be sufficient to prove to them, that their *separate souls* or *spirits*, were alive, though their *bodies* were dead, unless the future living state of their *persons* could be proved. The question was concerning the restoration of these *persons*, supposed by the *Sadducees* to be dead, to a living state. Understand the text in *St. Matthew*, as *Dr. Fortin* appears to have understood it, and it would follow, that the restoration in question would never take place. For one part of the *compound person* was agreed on all sides to be *dead*; and God, being not the God of the dead, the power of God would not be employed to restore it to a living state.

But take in the clause of *St Luke*, and the solution and proof are clear. “All *persons* live in the account of God, however they may appear to be dead to you.” This is the solution, and for the proof, they are referred to the power of God, and the declaration of his will in the scriptures (y).

This

(y) Πάντες γὰρ ἀντὶ ζωσιν. Solutio objectionis tacitæ. Atqui mortui tunc erant. Sanè; sed vivunt quoad Dei potentiam, quæ potest mortuos vitæ meliori reddere. Ipse enim est ὁ καλῶν ἡμῶν οὐκ ὡς οὐκ ὡς. *Grotius*. See also, *Wetstein* in loc.—And *Grot.* in *Gen.* xxxi. 42. who, upon the words, [*Deus patris mei Abraham, et timor Isaac,*] says, Non dicit Deus Isaaci, quia vivebat adhuc Isaac, non cognominatur autem Deus a quoquam mortalem adhuc agente vitam. How far this observation may be depended upon, is doubtful; we find

This clause indeed disables the Doctor's text, as an argument for the separate existence of Abraham's soul; and makes the supposition quite unnecessary to the explanation of our Saviour's reasoning. For it is not at all material, whether his soul survived his body or not, if his person lived in the account of God, as that circumstance insured to it a restoration to a living state at an appointed time.

“The Sadducees,” says the Doctor, “held, that
 “the soul was material and mortal, or rather, that
 “a man was nothing more than a living thinking
 “body, who entirely perished when he died. Up-
 “on this system of theirs, a resurrection was indeed
 “an impossibility, and a mere contradiction. It
 “could only be a new creation of a new creature,
 “which could have no relation to the man that was
 “dead and gone (z).”

The Bishop of *Gloucester* tells us on another hand, that the soul, according to the Sadducees, was on-

find the expression is varied, *Exod.* iii. When Moses carried his message to the Elders of Israel, he was to say, *The God of your Fathers*, v. 16. But when to Pharaoh, *The God of the Hebrews*. LE CLERC says, Quærentibus autem quare Deus, Isaaci potius quam Abrahami terror dicatur, nihil est quod reponamus, nisi forte Isaacum ita loqui solitum. *in loc.* He says, the Rabbinical account, that the fear of Isaac alludes to the terror he was in when going to be sacrificed, is chimerical. —Alludit ad pavorem illum, quo, quasi fræno, cohibuit Isaacum, ne collatam in Jacobum benedictionem revocaret. *Jun. & Trem.* in loc. which conjecture is not destitute of probability. But if Grotius's observation should stand good, our Saviour's argument ends in a conclusion strictly logical.

(z). P. 374.

ly a *quality* of the body : and he tells us this with *confidence*. Dr. Fortin is diffident and uncertain, whether the Sadducees held that the *human soul* was *material* and *mortal*, or whether they held a man to be *nothing more than a living thinking body* ; that is, without any soul at all. Dr. Fortin, I dare say, will be allowed by all competent judges, to have known as much of the matter as Dr. Warburton. But Dr. Fortin's conjectural expressions in this passage shew, that he was far from being certain what was precisely the system of the Sadducees. What the other knew of the matter, the reader has already seen.

Doth it not seem then to have been a want of candour, or a want of consideration, that disposed the Doctor to say, “ that some interpreters had “ misunderstood the text, *I am the God of Abraham, &c.* for want of attending to the principles of “ the Sadducees, against whom he argues (a),” when he himself is *uncertain* what these principles were ?

The principles of the Sadducees are thus represented in the scriptures. *The Sadducees say, there is no resurrection. The Sadducees deny that there is any resurrection. The Sadducees say, that there is no resurrection, neither angel nor spirit.* That is to say, (that we may keep to the Doctor's interpretation of *αναστασις*) the Sadducees denied, that *there would be another living state of the same person*. This therefore must be the point which our Saviour intended to prove, and to this proof interpreters apply our

(a) P. 375, 376.

Saviour's argument; and make his conclusion to depend, as he does himself, upon the *scriptures* and the *power of God*.

“For,” continues the preacher, “if his reasoning
“had been so subtle as they” [these interpreters]
“have made it, the common people who stood by,
“would hardly have felt the force of it. But they
“perceived clearly from the text, as it was explain-
“ed by him, that the holy Patriarchs—were still
“alive after the dissolution of their bodies; and
“they knew that this was an effectual confutation
“of the Sadducæan notion, that there was no life
“besides the present, and that death put an end to
“the whole man (b).”

But if this was the way in which the common people understood our Saviour's argument, they would understand, 1. That there was no such thing as death. 2. That *the body* was no part of *the person*. 3. That the *αἰσχρονομία* of the Patriarchs, the *other state of life besides this present state*, was not *future*, but a state of which the Patriarchs were in actual enjoyment: and consequently, that there would be no other resurrection.

But then, would they not wonder what our Saviour meant by talking of the resurrection *of the dead*, and of what men will or will not be capable, when they shall arise from the dead (c). And, *lastly*, why he should offer the case of Abraham, &c. as an argument of a resurrection *from the dead*?

(b) P. 375, 376.

(c) Mark xii. 25.

The Bishop of *Gloucester*, indeed, cuts this last Gordian knot with one nimble stroke of his critical scymitar, by saying that our Saviour's words, *Now that the dead are raised*, is not the proposition he meant directly to prove, but only the *exordium* to an indirect proof.

But if Dr. Jortin had any objection to the *subtlety* of an argument, I think he hardly would have adopted this interpretation. Besides, even this *indirect* argument, as Dr. *Warburton* manages it, ends in a proof of *a resurrection of the dead* at some time. A point to which Dr. *Jortin's* reasoning, I humbly apprehend, will not lead us. For thus he goes on.

“ It hath been said of our Lord's argument, that
 “ it proves rather the permanency of the same per-
 “ son, and the life of the soul, than the resurrection of
 “ a dead man, according to the common notion of
 “ that word.”

Whoever said this, meant it, I conceive, as an objection to our Lord's argument as exhibited by Dr. *Jortin*. This therefore is inaccurately expressed. The Doctor's explanation is denied to be our Lord's argument, the argument is his own, and he must support it as well as he can. Here follows his answer.

“ But, first, his argument was fully sufficient to
 “ confute the Sadducees with whom he had to do.
 “ And, secondly, another living state of the same
 “ person, after this and besides this present state,
 “ may justly be called a *resurrection*, and is as much
 “ as the word *resurrection*, (*ἀνάστασις*) considered in it-
 “ self, ever implies.”

True ;

True; but the question was not concerning the meaning of the word *αναστασις* considered in itself, but in connection with the word *νεκρων*, and *ex νεκρων*, which means a *living* state succeeding a dead state. If our Saviour's argument had tended to the conclusion Dr. Jortin draws from it, he would have said, *Ye do err not knowing the nature of the human soul, nor the meaning of the word resurrection.* The clause added by St. Luke, but unnoticed by Dr. Jortin, affords a full solution of all the Doctor's difficulties on this text, and a full confutation of his interpretation of it, *For all live unto him*, and St. Paul's doctrine on the subject is preferable to his. *None of us liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself. For whether we live, we live unto the Lord, and whether we die, we die unto the Lord; whether therefore we live or die, we are the Lords. For this end Christ both died, and rose and revived, that he might be Lord both of the dead and living.* Which clearly shews in what sense, God is NOT the God of the dead.

Our Saviour says, *Matth. x. 28. Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear him who is able to destroy both body and soul in hell.*

Upon this text, Dr. Jortin thus argues, “ If the
“ soul hath such a necessary dependence upon the
“ body, that when this dies, that dies with it, then,
“ he who kills the body, would, with the same
“ stroke, kill the soul also. But our Saviour tells
“ us, that this is impossible, because the soul re-

“ mains after the dissolution of the body, and is out
 “ of the reach of human, or of created power (*d*).”

But our Saviour gives no such reason, nor meant to give it; for, on another occasion, he supposes it possible for human or created power, *ψυχην ἀπολεσαι*; as Luke vi. 9. *ἐξῆσαι τοῖς σαββάσι—ψυχην σωσαι, ἢ ἀπολεσαι*. Where the question is concerning what is or is not *lawful*, the *possibility* of doing either is taken for granted. In Mark iii. 4. it is *ψυχην σωσαι ἢ ἀποκτείνειν*, and so is the reading in a great number of copies of *Luke*, both printed and Mss.

Our translators thought to avoid the contradiction, by translating *ψυχή*, *Matth. x.* by the word *soul*. But other translators had an equal right to render *ψυχή* in *Mark* and *Luke* by the same English.

It ought to have been translated by *life*, in both places, and then in opposition to *σῶμα*, *Matth. x. 28*, which means in many places, the *present* life, it would only denote the *future* life, to which the whole person was to be restored at the resurrection (*e*).

But

(*d*) P. 371.

(*e*) The French translation of *Mons* (by the Jansenists) give *Matth. xvi. 25.* thus, *Car celui qui se voudra sauver, se perdra; et celui qui se perdra, pour l'amour de moy, se sauvera.* And then add this sensible note. *Il y par tout icy le mot d'AME. Qui voudra sauver son AME, &c. Mais le mot, selon la phrase Hebraïque, signifie la personne même, comme il paroist par St. Luc. xviii. 33; et ce que dit Jesus Christ, est fondé sur ces deux manieres de se sauver, et de se perdre; l'une temporelle, et l'autre éternelle.* They might as well have

But Dr. *Jortin* objects to this. “ If it be said,
 “ that our Saviour means the utter and eternal
 “ destruction of the soul, which no one can effect,
 “ because God hath promised us a resurrection to
 “ a second life, this would be a mere shift to avoid
 “ the force of a plain text.”

The text became *plain* to Dr. *Jortin*, by his ascribing to our Saviour a reason why the soul could not be killed, taken from his own ideas of the *nature* of the soul, for which we say he had no authority. As to the *shift*, I do not know but St. *Luke* may come within his reprehension as well as other commentators, for he too avoids the force of the *plain text* of St. *Matthew*, by referring only to a future life in general,

The Doctor goes on, “ For in this flat and far
 “ fetched sense, our Lord might as well have de-
 “ nied, that men can kill the body, knowing our-
 “ selves to be the same persons that we were be-
 “ fore.”

Undoubtedly there was a sense in which our Lord did *deny* this. “ For,” (to use the words of a certain writer on this subject) “ I suppose Dr. *Jortin*
 “ himself would not have made the difference here
 “ intimated, between the power of God, and the
 “ power of man, to consist in the circumstance of
 “ destroying a dead carcase in hell (*f*).”

have put this note to the margin of *Matth.* x. 28 ; but for the fear of throwing cold water into purgatory, and of irritating such wasps as *Maimbourg* and *Mallet*.

(*f*) No proof in scripture of an intermediate state of happiness or misery between death and the resurrection, p. 20.

The

The author just quoted, hath given particular answers to all Dr. *Jortin's* interpretations of the texts he quotes, and to that author, I shall refer the reader for a farther detail, just noting a few inconsistencies in the Doctor's said interpretations, both with respect to his own positions, and the plain sense of other scriptures.

1. He brings these texts to prove an intermediate state of the separate soul of man, in some place of abode, allotted to it till the resurrection, which place of abode he supposes to be different from, and inferior to the state of supreme felicity allotted to the persons of good men after the resurrection.

To prove this, he brings, among other texts, *Stephen's* invocation, our Saviour's promise to the penitent thief, *St. Paul's* extasy or trance, the same apostle's willingness to be absent from the body, &c.

"Paradise," says Dr. *Jortin*, "means not the kingdom of heaven, but the place of the good" [souls] "after death and before the resurrection (g)."

1. Now, if *Stephen's* prayer was heard, his soul was certainly *received* into the kingdom of heaven, far beyond the paradise of Dr. *Jortin's* separate souls. For *he saw the heavens opened, and Jesus standing at the right hand of God*; and to Jesus in that exaltation, he put up his prayer.

2. To ascertain *where* the penitent thief was with our Saviour *that day*, we should know where our Saviour's soul was between his death and his resurrection. But, in that interval, our Saviour *went to the Father*, John xvi. 16. Either therefore paradise was a place of supreme felicity, contrary to

Dr. Jortin's notion, or we must place the Father in the inferior mansion of separate spirits.

3. St. Paul was taken up into *Paradise*, but whether in the body, or out of the body, he could not tell. *Paradise*, therefore, for any thing this apostle knew, might be a receptacle for *bodies* as well as *souls*.

4. The same apostle was *willing* to be absent from the body, and to be present with the Lord. If this *absence* means a state of separation of the soul from the body, the apostle must have contradicted himself, for he was *not* willing to be *unclothed*, viz. in a state of separate existence of the soul only, but cloathed upon, viz. with a glorified body, that *mortality might be swallowed up of life*. Hence it appears, that the immortality of the unclothed or separate soul, is a mere Pagan dream.

The rest of Dr. Jortin's comments are liable to equal difficulties when contrasted with those plain texts which refer *all future life* to the resurrection of the dead, as may be seen in other places. Here therefore we drop our remarks upon his interpretations, and think it needless to consider what texts he brings in support of his second proposition, as if the separate subsistence of men's souls after death, and that some place of abode is allotted to them till the resurrection, may be proved, we shall make no scruple to allow, that they may subsist in such abode with as much thought and self-consciousness, as the Doctor might be pleased to ascribe to them.

To these probable authorities of scripture, the Doctor adds the testimony of the Fathers of the church, who lived in or near the times of the apostles, who, he tells us, "were unanimous in this
" opinion,

“ opinion, and persuaded that the soul of every man
 “ upon the dissolution of the body, died not, but
 “ had a proper place to go to, and accordingly this
 “ doctrine is to be found in the most ancient Chri-
 “ stian liturgies.”

It is impossible for a reader of this sermon, who has likewise read Dr. Jortin's remarks on ecclesiastical history, not to recollect what that excellent man hath said of the authority due to the Fathers of the church (*b*). The worthy preacher foresaw, comparisons might be made to the disadvantage of the testimony to which he here appeals. He therefore puts in a seasonable caveat in these words.

“ This is an argument of weight; for though we
 “ are not obliged to adopt all the notions or reason-
 “ ings which are to be found in the primitive
 “ Fathers, yet a due regard is to be paid to their
 “ testimony concerning doctrines, which they de-
 “ liver as received by the church in their days.”

And of this we shall readily allow the most ancient Christian liturgies are competent evidence, even as the liturgies of the papal church are evidence, that the doctrine of purgatory is received by that church in these days.

The proof from these *most ancient liturgies*, of the point in question, arises from the forms of prayer in which there is a commemoration of the dead, and a supplication that they may *rest*, who died in the peace of the church (*i*).

Now,

(*b*) Remarks on Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. p. 163. ed. 1752.

(*i*) Consuetudinem esse vetustissimam, ut in publicis ecclesiæ precibus commemoratio fiat defunctorum, et *quies* illis petatur a Deo.

Now, I apprehend, it will be a considerable diminution of the *weight* of this argument, that the *most ancient* of these liturgies is many years posterior to the times of the apostles. And if the compilers of them introduced doctrines for which they had no apostolical authority, the consent, or unanimity of the church or churches, which received them, will only argue, that these primitive fathers began very early to dogmatize from their own imaginations, and had the address to bring the congregations where they presided, into their particular sentiments.

If Dr. *Fortin* meant this for no more than an additional weight in the scale of *universal consent*, we think it sufficient to say, that traditional opinions, derived from education, &c. &c. are of little more value than popular prejudices. They send us back indeed to their original authority, and by the value of that they must be estimated.

For the commemorations of, and prayers for the dead in these ancient liturgies, the compilers of them had no authority from the apostles, or apostolical times (*k*). The first Christians, we are told, equipped their oratories in the manner, and with the furniture of the Jewish synagogues (*l*), and

a Deo, qui in pace ecclesiæ sunt mortui, pauci hodie ignorant. *Casaubon*. Epist. 838. p. 501. ed. Almeloveen. 1709.

(*k*) Licet fateatur rex, hanc consuetudinem antiquissimos auctores habuisse, a principio tamen, et temporibus apostolicis, unde omnis ecclesiæ antiquitas repeti debet, sic factum esse, nemo ad hanc diem potuit probare. *Casaubon*. Epist. u. s.

(*l*) *Bohmer*, Dissertationes Juris Ecclesiastici, Dif. 2. § x. p. 46.

and no doubt, borrowed many of their liturgical forms from them (*m*). Whoever will be at the pains to peruse *Vitringa's* dissertation, *De Statu Ecclesiæ Christianæ, a Nerone, ad Trajanum*, will easily perceive, how little the Fathers of the Christian church, who lived during that interval, were likely to compose liturgies. Dr. *Fortin* knew this as well as *Vitringa*, and should not therefore have appealed to ancient liturgies, as containing the testimony of men *who lived in or near the times of the apostles*.

We are now arrived at the proof of the worthy preacher's second proposition, viz. "that the intermediate state is a state of thought and self-consciousness, and consequently of content and of happiness in a certain degree."

The Doctor says, "As we find many intimations in the scriptures concerning *this* [intermediate] state of the good, and hardly any concerning the state of the bad, I shall confine my inquiries to the former (*n*)."

"He thinks it probable however, that the disquiet of the wicked, [in an intermediate state] if they feel any, will arise, not from punishment, but from the expectation of it, which is the natural result of a guilty conscience, and is indeed a most disconsolate and miserable situation."

(*m*) The Jewish writers never mention their ancient prophets, without adding, *qui in pace quiescat*. See *Vitringa*, *Observ. Sacræ*, vol. ii. p. 846.

(*n*) Sermon, p. 378.

Divines, who think it absurd to suppose, that the final punishment of the wicked will be by material fire, suppose this *most disconsolate miserable situation*, will be *all* the punishment to which the wicked will be doomed at the last day; which, added to the reflection that they are for ever shut out from the presence of God, will be sufficient misery, without the expectation of a farther punishment.

The Doctor, however, thinks, there is a farther punishment allotted for them, for which this intermediate situation is only a state of *reservation*. And having stated this theory with respect to the wicked, he goes on thus.

“ And, *for the same reason*, it is likewise to be
 “ supposed, that the souls of the righteous receive
 “ not their proper and intended reward before *that*
 “ day, and that they rest in the joyful expectation
 “ of it.”

For *what* same reason? namely this, “ that the
 “ last being always described to us as the time of
 “ trial, sentence, and condemnation of the wicked,
 “ this induceth us to think, that such actual punish-
 “ ment will not be inflicted upon them before that
 “ time.”

If then this reason has any weight, all the doubts which the Doctor forms concerning the *feelings* of the wicked, will incumber his hypothesis of a state of intermediate happiness for the good; for the last day is equally described to us, as the time of trial, sentence, and *acquittal* of the righteous, as of *condemnation* of the wicked.

In

In a note, p. 386. the Doctor offers the soul-sleepers a compromise in this matter, “by allowing, that whilst the good enter into a state of peace and comfort, the wicked are properly condemned to an insensible condition till the last day calls them forth.”

“He would not however, have the wicked flatter themselves with the vain hope of sleeping to the day of judgment. If it should be so, the senseless interval will not in reality remove the fatal hour, but death and the resurrection will seem to them closely united together.”

But the very same consideration is offered to the righteous, as no discouragement or cause of discontent, even though they should sleep to the last trumpet. For, “in a sleep without sensation, be it long or short, the interval is as nothing.—It is like closing the eyes, and opening them again instantly.”

A state of expectation is a state of anxiety at least, if not of painful suspense. *Joyful expectation*, for the space of some thousands of years, is an idea of which the human mind can have no conception in its present connection with the body. They who preach up an intermediate state, as a topic of consolation, and encouragement to the good and virtuous, should be able to give a good account “how, and in what manner the soul acts, whilst it is deprived of the body,” and not pretend to plead ignorance, whether it acts “by its own natural powers, or by more subtle material organs
“and

“and instruments fitted to its separate state (o).” While this is left uncertain, and even inexplicable, their hearers will rather turn to the foul-sleepers, who encourage them to hope, that no interval more perceivable than the twinkling of an eye, will pass between their falling asleep, and being put in possession of supreme felicity.

We must not pass by a conjectural hypothesis of this incomparable writer, who had the art to recommend an hundred things to our serious attention, which a clumsy, confident, paradoxical adventurer would make perfectly ridiculous.

The passage occurs in a note, vol. i. sermon ix. p. 185. I shall transcribe it.

“What if we should suppose, that the souls of
 “brutes are spirits who have misbehaved them-
 “selves in a former state, and are imprisoned in
 “those bodies by way of punishment? You will
 “say, perhaps, that punishment ought to be at-
 “tended with a consciousness in the intelligent
 “agent, that he suffers for passed transgressions.
 “But how do you know that they have not this
 “knowledge? And supposing that they have it
 “not at present, yet they may in another removal
 “to another state, retrieve their consciousness and
 “reminiscence.”

This is offered by way of solving a difficulty in our present system, *viz.* why brutes, which being no moral agents, can have no demerit, should be sub-

(o) Sermon, p. 379.

ject to so much misery and suffering as falls to their lot in the present state of things (*p*).

With this question we have nothing to do. Let the Cartesians look to it. We have only to consider what effect this supposition would have upon our author's compromise in the ninth sermon, vol. ii. under consideration, and upon the reason given for the intermediate misery of the wicked during their state of *reservation*, supposing their consciousness to remain.

The compromise is evidently offered, through an apprehension, that the unhappy state of wicked souls in a conscious intermediate state, might look too like *punishment*, and imply a double condemnation, and a double punishment for the same transgressions. But this hypothesis of transmigration is inconsistent, either with the doctrine of an intermediate sleep, or with the sentence of the last judgment, as stated by the preacher in the sermon we have been examining.

If, by allowing consciousness to the imprisoned spirit, we determine this transmigration to be a real punishment, we must suppose it to supersede any future sentence at the last day. And if you admit a suspension of consciousness and reminiscence with

(*p*) There are texts of scripture which seem to suppose a moral agency even in beasts, as where the blood of man is required at the hand of every beast, Gen. ix. 5, or at least where a respect is had to their innocence, as *Jonah* iv. 11. where the cattle seem to be reckoned among the infants, on whose account, as unconscious of good or evil, Nineveh was spared.

respect

respect to former transactions, yet the imprisoned soul must have some present sensibility of its sufferings in the brutal body, or the idea of punishment vanishes; and such sensibility being admitted, there is no room for the compromise proposed above.

It has been observed in the course of this controversy, that writers on the behalf of a conscious intermediate state of the human soul, have been extremely shy of determining, what becomes of the separate souls of the wicked? *Calvin* declared he would have nothing to say to them. Others have slipped them over without mention. And purgatory had stared in the face of every one of those zealots who disposed of them in an intermediate state of suffering. These last however could not avoid accounting for their notion by a *parity of reason*, with respect to the intermediate state of the righteous. And so far they are honest; for a parity of reason there must be, whether the doctrine of a separate existence is contemplated in a moral, or a natural view.

The innate candour of Dr. *Fortin* has brought this part of the subject upon the carpet, in every view that can be taken of it, and he hath admitted a *parity of reason*, in deferring the complete happiness and misery of the righteous and the wicked respectively, till the last day. But he seems to have seen clearly, that by admitting the same *parity of reason* into the doctrine of the separate existence of the human soul, either a double punishment of the wicked, or something of the purgatorial kind must have been the inevitable consequence. And for

this reason it was, that he was for *compounding* the matter. Even his hypothesis of transmigration will admit of this *parity of reason*. For it is possible to suppose, that there may be innumerable animals which live and die without any of those sufferings to which others of them are subject; and why may we not suppose, that these are the receptacles of the spirits of the good, who, by this means, pass their time in ease and innocence, and even *in delight and happiness in a certain degree?*

Upon the whole, notwithstanding the superior talents of this great and good man, notwithstanding his strong attachment to the side of the question he espouses, we must be obliged to acknowledge, that his reasonings and interpretations have decided nothing, and that he hath left the controversy just as he found it.

Upon looking a second time over Dr. Fortin's sermon, I find there is a passage quoted, which has not usually been brought in proof of a separate existence. It is the history of our Lord's transfiguration, "at which time, the Evangelists inform us, "Moses and Elias came and conversed with Jesus, "and were seen and heard by those disciples who "were present."

"As to Elias," says the preacher, "he died not, "but, like Enoch before him, was taken up into "heaven. But of Moses it is written, that he died "and was buried. This account, therefore, is a "a fair intimation, that good men continue to live "and

“and to act; after they are released from this mortal body (q).”

But, 1. The death and burial of *Moses* is spoken of in such mystical terms, that there is sufficient room to believe, he was not released from his mortal body, as others are released. *Josephus* says, that though it is said in the sacred writings, that *Moses* died, yet he was certainly taken away in a cloud, while *Eleazer* and *Joshua* were conversing with him, and conveyed into a certain valley; and he says, the account given in *Deuteronomy* of his decease, was to prevent the Jews from presuming that he was gone to God [or become a divine being] upon account of his virtue (r).

Le Clerc asks, why it should be more dangerous for the Jews to believe the Divinity of *Moses*, than of *Enoch* and *Elias*, whose translations are related without reserve? A very plain answer might be given to this question, if it were necessary, from the state and circumstances of the Jews at these several periods. But *Le Clerc* may be interrogated in his turn.

“Upon the words, *No man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day*, *Le Clerc* says, *Ne scilicet ad ejus monumentum adoratum irent* (s). Why was not the

(q) Sermon, p. 385.

(r) Antiq. Lib. iv. cap. viii. sect. 48. p. 176 Edit. Hudson.

(s) In Deut. xxxiv. 6. *Grotius* mentions, upon the authority of *Origin* and *Epiphanius*, a book intituled *Αναληψις*, or *Περί Αναληψεως* [Μωουσεως] of the *Assumption* of *Moses*, from whence he thinks *Clemens* took a certain narrative in his

the same caution used with respect to the monuments of *Abraham* and *David*, for whom the Jews had perhaps, the same veneration they had for *Moses*?

2. Whatever was the condition of *Elias* on this occasion, the same was that of *Moses*. Luke says of them, that they *appeared in glory*. Upon which *Le Clerc* notes, *C'est-a-dire, environnez de l'eclat, et de la Majestè qui accompagnent les corps glorieux, dans le sejour de la beatitude eternelle*. It was never doubted whether the children of the resurrection could *live* and *act* in glorified bodies, or not. The question is concerning separate souls, after the mortal body is put off, and before the glorified body is put on.

3. It is therefore hardly a *fair intimation* to infer, from this incident, that *all* good men *continue* to live and to act after they are released from this mortal body, and that in a state of separation of the soul from the body, because one man is there recorded to have put on a glorified body before the time appointed for the general resurrection of the dead, and particularly a man whose release from the mortal body, was so unlike that of any other man of whom history, sacred or profane, have made mention.

4. The appearances of these good men in glorified bodies, and the silence of the scriptures concerning any appearances of the unembodied spirits either of good or wicked men, is a presump-

Stromata, which probably, in its turn, gave occasion to the curious things we read concerning the *Assumption* of the Blessed Virgin.

tive argument at least, that the doctrine of the consciousness and activity of the human soul in a state of separation from the body, was not the current doctrine of the times when the sacred penmen wrote the scriptures. It is indeed inconsistent with their accounts of a future state. Such of the Christian Fathers as espoused it, derived it from the philosophy of their pagan masters; and, unapprehensive of its consequences, with respect to the doctrine of the gospel, did their endeavour to accommodate it to several expressions in the New Testament, and thereby left a precedent for their successors in latter ages, to proceed to still greater extravagancies of interpretation, whenever the subject came in their way.

I am in some doubt how far the Psychopannychists will think themselves obliged to Dr. *Fortin* for espousing their party. They will, no doubt, approve his interpretations of scripture; but when they consider, that he labours only for the *probability* of his opinion, that he is inclinable to a compromise with his opponents, on seeing the consequences of admitting intermediate misery for the souls of the wicked, that he more than hints at the possibility of a *transmigration* of wicked souls, to keep things upon a par with the intermediate content and happiness of the righteous, and lastly, his candid concession, that the righteous lose nothing, and the wicked gain nothing, by their intermediate sleep; when these things, I say, are considered, there may be room to doubt, whether the Patrons of a conscious intermediate state will be much edi-

fied by the Doctor's operations on the question, and whether they will not rather chuse to abide by their strong hold of a natural immortality on philosophical principles, than accept of his aid on the terms he offers it.

Be that as it may, let the *Historian* praise his candour in expressing his diffidence in a manner which shews, that he did not desire his interpretations of the texts he builds upon, should pass for infallibilities. Would to God I had the talents to perpetuate the rest of his excellencies to the latest posterity. But he rests from his labours, and heareth not the voice of the oppressor, nor of the petulant scorner. His works will sufficiently speak for him, while there are any remnants of piety, learning, and good sense, among the sons of Britain, and will follow him to those mansions, where neither envy, malevolence, nor the dogmatical arrogance of ignorant supercilious criticism, will deprive him of his reward.

Dum juga montis aper, fluvios dum piscis amabit,
Dumque thymo pascentur apes, dum rorè cicadæ,
Semper honos nomenque tuum, laudesque manebunt.

C H A P. XXIX.

Mr T. BROUGHTON's Defence of the commonly received doctrine of an immaterial, and naturally immortal principle in man. Levelled at the Bishop of CARLISLE's Appendix, and the Historical View. On what Provocation. Combats the Bishop's texts by appealing to Cicero. Remarks. Whether Cicero believed a future state? Mr Broughton's idle distinction between the end of the present life, and the beginning of the next. Surprised that Dodwell's controversy with Dr. Clarke is not noticed in the Historical View. Commends Mr John Broughton's Psychologia. Extract from Dodwell. And from Dr. Coward's reply to Mr. J. Broughton. Censure of Mr. Thomas Broughton's Defence in a monthly Pamphlet. Mr. B. charges Socinianism on his opponents. His book called, A Prospect of Futurity. Compared to the speculations of Cyrano de Bergerac. And Don Quevedo. Talks of the pointing in Greek Manuscripts. And of other things of which he knows still less.

I Was just about closing the foregoing detail, 1766.
 when I recollected, that there was one Gentle- 1768.
 man, and the only one I know of, who hath ho-
 noured the former edition of the *Historical View*,
 with his particular remarks. I mean the Rev. Mr.
Thomas Broughton, Prebendary of *Sarum*, and Vi-
 car of *St. Mary Ratcliff*, and *St. Thomas* in *Bristol*.

This Gentleman was set to work by a particular provocation. He had, it seems, upon the stocks,
 four

four Dissertations, which were to be intitled, *A Prospect of Futurity, or the Life to come*. In the first of these Dissertations, he proposed to give a prospect of *the State of the Dead between Death and the Resurrection*. But as the publication of the *Historical View*, Dr. Law's Appendix, and another tract intitled, *Universal Redemption, a Scripture Doctrine*, threatened not only to intercept his *Prospect*, but “to destroy the very foundation of his *first Dissertation*, and affect very much the reasonings employed in the rest,” it became necessary for him to *clear the way*, in a precursory discourse, which he intitles, *A Defence of the commonly-received doctrine of the human soul as an immaterial, and naturally immortal principle in man, against the objections of some modern writers*.

But though the notice Mr. Broughton takes of the *Historical View*, is the only reason I have for paying him this particular respect, I shall venture to leave that performance to bear up, as well as it can, by its own little merit, against the objections in this *Defence*; and shall only give the reader a specimen of Mr. Broughton's manner of confuting the learned Bishop of *Carlisle's* second proposition, viz. “The state to which death reduces us, is represented in scripture, as a state of absolute *insensibility*, “a total *privation of life and consciousness*, or an utter *extinction of Being* (t).”

One might say, that this, as Mr Broughton hath stated it, is not the Bishop's second proposition (u).

(t) Defence, p 37.

(u) See the Bishop's *Appendix*, p. 367. edit. 1755.

But we will take it, as Mr. B. for the benefit of his *Prospect*, hath chosen to represent it.

Mr B. having applied the scriptures cited in the *Appendix* in proof of the proposition, solely to the death of the body, by an arbitrary *ipse dixit*, proceeds to give us a detail of *Cicero's* sentiments on the subject of a future state, by way of illustration of the scriptures appealed to by the bishop ; in some of which *Cicero* expresses himself so, as to be understood to disbelieve a future state, though in others he asserts his firm belief of it.

Now, to say nothing of this new method of explaining the Christian scriptures, we must, to make them useful to Mr. B. take these *negative* passages of *Cicero*, to relate only to the state of the dead body ; as where he says, *Mortem—contemnere debemus, propterea quod nullum sensum esset habitura* (x). Mr B. translates *sensum*, by *thought* and *reflection*. But if death puts an end to *thought* and *reflection*, no province is left for a “ spiritual substance, united “ with the body before its death, and subsisting separately after it.” Not to mention, that upon Mr. B.'s plan, *thought* and *reflection* must be attributes of the body, and not of the spirit.

To these negations, Mr. B. opposes an affirmative passage, which he thinks expressive of *Cicero's* absolute belief of a future state. It is the hackney'd one in his discourse *De Senectute*. But here he finds himself committed with the two Doctors *Middleton* and *Warburton*, who both agree, though for dif-

(x) Cic. Epist. Fam. v. 21.

ferent reasons, that *Cicero*, with respect to the doctrine of a future state, was a frank infidel.

What is Mr. B. to do now? For if the opinion of these two Doctors is to pass current, what becomes of Mr. B.'s *illustration*?

To get clear of this incumbrance, Mr. B. has recourse to a *distinction*. "There are," says he, "two lights in which death may be viewed. It may be considered, either as the *End* of the present life, or the *Beginning* of the next. *Cicero* plainly considers Death in the former light only." That is to say, as extinguishing all sense, thought, reflection and consciousness of what *had* happened in the course of *that* life to which death puts an end; or, to give it in Mr. B.'s emphatical words, "reducing us to a state of *absolute insensibility* with respect to the things of this world."

But what, in the mean time, becomes of the continued *consciousness* of the *separate* soul? or, of what is it to be conscious in that state of *absolute insensibility* of what is past? Here Mr. *Broughton* stands ready with the other member of his distinction, to tell us, that death is the *beginning* of a new life, and that there is no interval between the end of the first life, and the beginning of the second; but if this was *Cicero's* notion, he plays the trifler egregiously with his correspondent, by consoling him with the hopes of an utter extinction of all reminiscence of his present griefs, at the same time that he knew the beginning of a new life would restore, or rather indeed continue, the consciousness of them in the separate soul.

If

If Mr. B. should be disposed to say, that the objects of the consciousness of the separate soul, are different from those of which it had been conscious in the body, we will not be so ill natured as to ask him, how he knows this? or what those objects are, of which the separate soul is *conscious at the very beginning of a new life*. We only desire to know how he ascertains the *identity* of the soul in these two different states, and how he will reconcile himself to those of his party, who are so very confident, that the soul never undergoes *any change*?

“ If I have justly interpreted *Cicero’s* words,” says Mr. *Broughton*, “ I cannot but think, that by *the same way of interpretation*, we may as justly reconcile Dr. *Law’s* collection of scriptures, relating to the state of death, with the doctrine of the *survivorship* and immortality of the human soul.” Hardly. We shall forgive him for making *Cicero* talk like a fool, or a Jesuit, or a Politician, but we shall not think him so very *just*, in applying *the same way of interpretation* to the sacred writers.

Mr. *Broughton* is surprised, that our *Historian*, meaning his humble servant, should not take notice of the controversy between Mr. *Dodwell* and Dr. *Clarke*. Perhaps a plausible reason might be given for this omission, and Mr. *Broughton* shall certainly have it, in exchange for any good reason he shall chuse to give, why, after mentioning his namesake Mr. *John Broughton’s* *Psychologia*, with the attribute of *a learned and solid answer* to Dr. *Coward’s* *Second Thoughts* (a), he forebore to men-

(a) Preface to Mr T. *Broughton’s* *Def.* p. 10.

tion the said Doctor's *Epistolary Reply* to Mr. *Broughton*, in which this *learned* and *solid* Answerer, is hunted out of his subterfuges, in a manner which renders him an object of pity (y).

Dr.

(y) In hopes that this defender may grow wiser for the future than to call such heroes as Dr. *Coward* from the dead, to adorn his triumphal carr, we shall give him a specimen of the said Dr. *Coward*'s talents at dealing with a pompous sophister, viz. the defender's namesake, Mr. *John Broughton*. "Good Sir," (speaking to Mr. *Broughton*), "do but consider without passion, how you have answered that argument, drawn from eternal life being the gift of God; ergo the philosopher ought not to give us an unwarrantable immortality. This is the substance of *Esibius*'s argument. "Ans. 1. *It is a superlative gift to have an immortal soul, p. 208. 2. We know it from scripture revelation. 3. Life denotes happiness in scripture; so by a new and full assurance, it is by scripture become a new gift. 4. The forfeited title to this happiness, was by the gospel restored to mankind.*—"What is all this to the purpose? If I say, immortality to man is a superlative gift revealed from scripture only, and this immortality consists in an happiness of life after death, which Adam forfeited and Christ restored, is not this as good divinity as yours? Nay, I am sure, yours has not that probability of truth, as mine has, because your first proposition is precarious and groundless, unless you make it appear, that God gave Man an immortal soul at creation; and mine has the whole religion of the gospel to justify it. Sir, but one question more. Is immortal life a gift to an immortal being? Yes, say you, happiness superadded to immortal life, is a gift; and that is meant by immortal life in the scripture. Then pray do you interpret scripture, if your head can do it right, and tell us, that Christ promised his believer only happiness superadded to our immortal life in the next world, for he knew that we
" had

Dr. *Clarke's* hypothesis of the natural immortality of the soul is so well known, and the arguments relating to it on the one side and the other, so sufficiently set forth in the *Historical View*, that the author

“ had an immortal life before. Can you, with any face, give
 “ such a gloss to the scriptures? Is not the whole intent and
 “ purport of the gospel to tell us, that though we had forfeited eternal life by Adam's transgression, yet by Christ we
 “ should be restored to that again, who else would have died
 “ eternally? Doth he not first promise life to a dead lump
 “ of earth, rotted in the grave after several thousand years,
 “ by which we are put in a state of being capable of happiness?
 “ And after this promise of life, then if you do well, you shall have happiness superadded to it, as a new gift.
 “ Away with your trifling with a text. Is life a gift to a
 “ dead carcase or no? If it be, it is a gift of God, and no
 “ being else can possibly give it. If it be not the gift of God,
 “ then the scripture is vain, and *the promise of none effect*.
 “ For as to happiness or misery attending that life, it is subsequent to it, and depends upon yourself for the most
 “ part, to perform the conditions of obedience God has set
 “ before you.” Epistolary Reply, p. 233. Again, proceeding to ferret this learned and solid answerer out of another of his lurking holes, he attacks him thus. “ Another argument
 “ like the former, is in relation to the curse denounced against
 “ *Adam*, *In the day that thou eatest thereof* (viz. the forbidden
 “ fruit) *thou shalt die*. What finned? saith *Estibius*. Soul as
 “ well as body, and therefore both were liable to death. But
 “ say you, by way of a nice question, *What is to be understood*
 “ *by, thou?* p. 279. *Ans.* The whole Man, or Person of
 “ Man. Then, say I, whole Man died.—*No, whole Man*
 “ *may be as well understood for a part, as a part for the whole*.
 “ — This is rare philosophy indeed! Whole Man died, therefore one half of him survived,” *Epist. Rep.* p. 239. Again.
 “ As to those arguments, *Estibius* urges from the nature and
 “ end

author might well think he should be dispensed with in not giving a particular account of it, by a formal detail of his argument.

As

“ *end of a resurrection and general judgment*, I believe you fore-
 “ saw them unanswerable, and therefore was forced to recur
 “ to an intermediate state.—This dream has indeed relieved
 “ you one way, but then it presses you very hard on the con-
 “ fines of Purgatory. For what end are souls reserved in that
 “ state? If wicked, and in torments, then it cannot be less
 “ than a Purgatory. If righteous, and in happiness, though
 “ but initial, as you term it, then you answer not well, for
 “ the justice of God, who has, by such his assignment, at-
 “ tested them to be so far innocent, as to be in a state of
 “ *certain* salvation, and *certain* happiness, and yet he still de-
 “ tains them from a perfect consummation and bliss, so many
 “ thousand years before a general resurrection. If any man
 “ had for that time *no being at all*, as *Estibius* avers it, it is
 “ no injustice to a non-existent man, because he is not capable
 “ of having injustice done him in a state of non-existence.
 “ Again, the scriptures every where, by the particle, *then*,
 “ relating to a fixed day of a general judgment, seem plainly
 “ to testify God’s ordination on my side. But for God to give
 “ our souls existence in an intermediate state, who knew that
 “ they will have *a certain happiness full and complete in all*
 “ *degrees*, yet to detain them from it so long, without shewing
 “ any ordination of his from scripture to justify the truth of
 “ your opinion; by your good leave, I think, seems a grand re-
 “ flection and derogation to infinite justice; for which opinion
 “ you deserve Lustration or Purgatory at least.” *Epist. Reply*,
 p. 241. The following advices of this sensible writer seem to
 be equally necessary for Mr. *Thomas*, as they were for Mr.
John Broughton. “ One word or two of advice to you, and
 “ I have done. 1. Whenever you write again, get a man
 “ of solid judgment and reading to supervise your papers be-
 “ fore they come hastily into the world, that your expressions
 “ *may always be sense*, if they bear little or no weight in ar-
 “ gumentation. 2. Take such a man’s judgment in exami-
 “ ning

As to Mr *Dodwell*, the *Historian* had seen nothing of his upon the subject, except his letter to Mr. *Kirk* concerning the immortality of the soul, against Mr. *Layton*'s hypothesis, wherein there is nothing to distinguish the doctrine Mr. *Dodwell* then held, from that which the common assertors of the immortality of the soul urged against such writers as Dr. *Coward* and Mr. *Layton*. At the same time he had seen Mr. *Layton*'s excellent answer to Mr. *Dodwell*'s letter; and now that a farther account of Mr. *Dodwell*'s hypothesis hath fallen in the *Historian*'s way, he cannot help giving it as his opinion, that

“ning the reasons you propose as demonstrative, and especially where you attempt to reduce the adversary to own absurdities, and to ridicule him. 3. Never use calumny for argument, by calling a man *atheist*, *heretic*, *irreligious*, &c. either by inuendo or express words. For it becomes such as are of your station, and of your function, to treat men with candour and mildness of temper (whatever latitude a layman may take) more particularly. This is a breach of good manners, and give me leave to tell you, that when you presume to call one *atheist* or *heretic*, who is known constantly to frequent the sacrament often in the year, and seldom fails public devotion in the week days, in the church of England, you, or any one else, do very ill to brand such an one with *atheism*, or *irreligion*, or as a broacher of heretical opinions.” p. 246. So much for the learned and solid Mr. *John Broughton*, whose *Psychologia* Mr. *Locke* thus characterises. “The other book you mentioned, I have seen, and am so well satisfied by his 5th section, what a doughty Squire he is like to prove in the rest, that I think not to trouble myself to look farther into him. He has there argued very weakly against his adversary, but very strongly against himself.” *Locke*'s Letters to *Collins* in *Des Maizeaux*'s collection of his pieces, p. 261.

Mr. *Dodwell* being sorely pressed by Mr. *Layton* on this subject, found himself under a necessity of discarding the doctrine of the *natural* immortality of the soul, and substituting in its place, that hypothesis in his epistolary discourse, which so highly scandalised Dr. *Clarke* (2). Whoever will compare Mr. *Dodwell's* letter and Mr. *Layton's* answer, with the beginning of the account of Mr. *Dodwell's* hypothesis of the immortality of the soul, subjoined to his life by Mr. *Brokesby*, will probably discern some foundation for this conjecture, upon which however no great stress is laid.

To give Mr. *Broughton* (who, it is probable, knew as little of Mr. *Dodwell's* hypothesis when he wrote his *Defence*, as the author of the *Historical View*,) all the satisfaction he can reasonably expect, we here exhibit a short abstract of that hypothesis, so far as it is to be understood from Mr. *Brokesby's* representation.

“ There are three souls appropriated to man.
 “ 1. The *Choical* or elementary soul, common to man
 “ with all other animals, and perishing in man, as
 “ well as in brutes, at the death of the body.
 “ 2. The *προν ζωης*, the in-breathed soul, which dis-
 “ tinguishes him from the brute-creation, and has a
 “ mere *capability* of immortality, but is not of itself
 “ immortal, or has any proper natural immortality
 “ in itself. 3. The *ψυχη πνευματική*, or the soul in-
 “ fused by the Holy Spirit, which is *suâ naturâ* im-
 “ mortal, but is imparted to those Christians only,

(2) See, Mr. *Dodwell's* Hypothesis of the immortality of the soul, at the end of his life, by Mr. *Brokesby*, 1715.

“ whom

“ whom he calls the *Peculium* of Christ. All man
 “ kind have the *Pnoe*, and by that subsist in a sepa-
 “ rate or intermediate state, and by it are made ca-
 “ pable, the good of eternal reward, the wicked of
 “ eternal punishment. The righteous are rendered
 “ immortal by the superaddition of the ψυχη πνευμα-
 “ τικη to the πνοη, in consequence of faith and re-
 “ pentance, by virtue of the redemption of the *Pecu-*
 “ *lium* by Christ. This superaddition, however, is
 “ not to be had but by baptism, and is therefore,
 “ by Mr. *Dodwell*, called, *the baptismal immortaliz-*
 “ *ing spirit*. Nor will *any* baptism have this im-
 “ mortalizing effect, but that only which is admi-
 “ nistered by the hand, or under the authority of a
 “ bishop. According to the reasoning of the best
 “ and purest ages, all who desire a solid title to the
 “ good and divine spirit, are obliged to depend on
 “ *bishops*. As to what becomes of the souls of the
 “ wicked and unbelievers, Mr. *Dodwell* does not
 “ speak with equal assurance. He seems to think
 “ they may be punished in the inferior mansions of
 “ their separate state. He tells us, there was an an-
 “ cient tradition, that souls survived their bodies
 “ in *vehicles*, which were called εἰδωλα θανόντων; and
 “ that the primitive Christians believed separate
 “ souls to have *visible* bodies of the same shape with
 “ those wherein themselves lived formerly. Yet
 “ they believed those bodies mortal, as being ca-
 “ pable of sensible pain by the corporeal fire of
 “ hell. But elsewhere, he seems to be of opinion,
 “ that through the clear apprehension of the ami-
 “ ableness of good, and the turpitude of vicious
 “ courses,

“ courses, conscience alone may more contribute to
 “ the grief or delight of naked souls, than the
 “ most exquisite impressions of our fleshly organs.”

It is no wonder, that these representations, with the sort of reasonings and authorities by which they are supported, should give so ingenious and accurate a reasoner as Dr. *Clarke*, great advantage in shewing the preference due to his hypothesis, in comparison with this of Mr. *Dodwell*, who, however found an advocate that was not sparing of his pains to retaliate upon Dr. *Clarke*, and sometimes with no bad success (a). Why would not Mr. *Broughton* undertake the defence of Dr. *Clarke's* masterly and decisive letter against this formidable champion? I can assure him, the praises given to Dr. *Clarke's* letter by Bishop *Hoadley*, have not made such defence unnecessary.

But Mr. *Broughton* is indeed but a poor defender. One of the monthly writers, about the time his defence came out, (no bad judge of such compositions), informs us, that “ Mr. *Broughton* has shewn
 “ a zeal in this *Defence*, quite disproportionable to
 “ the knowledge he has of the subject (b).” However let us do him justice, he has learned so much of his trade, as to make up in spleen and calumny, what he wants in argument.

(a) In two tracts, the one intitled, Η χάρις ὁθεῖα, *The Holy Spirit the Author of Immortality, &c.* The other, *Immortality præternatural to human Souls.* By a Presbyter of the church of England. Both printed for *Sawbridge*, 1708.

(b) Monthly Record of Literature for May 1767.

“ It may not be amiss,” says Mr. *Broughton*, “ to
 “ observe here, (what, perhaps, will create no great
 “ prejudice in favour of their doctrine) that the
 “ writers against the immortality of the soul, seem
 “ to have copied after *Socinus* and his followers ; as
 “ we learn from Professor Herman *Witsius* (c).”

If this wretched insinuation is *not amiss*, neither will it be *amiss* to observe, that Mr. *Broughton* seems to have copied after the popish defenders of purgatory and saint-worship, as hath been shewn by the only writer who took the trouble to examine this *Defence*, upon its first appearance (d).

Having thus made way for his *Prospect of Futurity*, Mr. *Broughton* found no difficulty to exhibit it to the public in the year 1768. It abounds with a variety of discoveries, of which the world hitherto had no conception, and in which his readers find themselves more or less interested, in proportion to their credulity.

Mr. *Broughton* proposes, “ to give the adventures
 “ of a human soul in its progress from time to eter-
 “ nity, its departure from its corporeal habitation,
 “ its intermediate residence in *Hades*, or the invi-
 “ sible region of disembodied spirits, its reunion
 “ with its former companion the body, its appear-
 “ ance before the tribunal of its heavenly judge,
 “ its arrival at the destined place of its final abode,

(c) Preface to Mr. *Broughton's Defence*, p. xvii.

(d) In a pamphlet intituled, *A Warning against Popish Doctrines, or Observations on the Rev. Mr. Thomas Broughton's Defence of an inherent Immortality in Man*, 1767.

“ and the happy or miserable end of its peregrinations (e).”

A certain critic hath compared Mr. B.’s speculations upon these subjects to those of *Cyrano de Bergerac* (f). But when *adventures* are promised, why are we put off with *speculations*? By judiciously selecting from *Don Quevedo* and the said *Bergerac*, Mr. B. might have given us an entertaining detail of these *adventures*.

But let us amuse ourselves a little with his speculations. On Luke xiii. 43, he observes, that “ our Saviour himself was not to be in heaven till more than forty days after his crucifixion ; and therefore the malefactor’s soul must have waited above six weeks before it could be with Christ in that region.” And how does Mr. Broughton know, that our Saviour’s soul was sooner in paradise? He appeals to the text, *Verily I say unto thee, To-day thou shalt be with me in paradise*. But, say the soul-sleepers, the *pointing* in the common copies, is wrong, the comma should be after *to-day*. “ You are mistaken,” says Mr. Broughton, “ All the manuscripts” (which have no points, and hardly any distinction between one word and another) “ are against you (g).”

Again, as to any *moral use*, or *spiritual improvement*, in the intermediate state, Mr. Broughton allows there is none, in the sense of *improved merit*, and he gives the reason, *viz.* The intermediate state, being no state of probation, the state of the soul in

(e) Pref. p. 14.

(f) Critical Review, April, 1768, p. 272.

(g) Diff. i. p. 93.

it must be *unalterable*, and he affirms the same of heaven, (which however is more than he knows). But as to improvement in spiritual excellency and perfection, he makes no scruple to admit it, both into his intermediate state, and into heaven, and calls it, *being better qualified to go on unto perfection* (b). Whence we learn, 1. That there is no *merit* in a soul's improving in *spiritual excellency*: and, 2. That a soul whose state is *unalterable*, may *improve* in spiritual excellency and perfection.

And then again, though he grants as above, that there is no moral use whatever for this intermediate state, yet he says, there MAY BE *a natural necessity* of the soul's existing somewhere or other, and some how or other, in the interval between death and the resurrection (i), the wisdom of establishing which, as well as the manner of it, he would have the soul-sleepers take for granted; which indeed would be no unreasonable request, after they should have admitted the *reality* of such existence. And so having granted the whole, Mr. B. can easily get rid of some objections hinted in the postscript to the Bishop of Carlisle's *Appendix*, and in the *Historical View*.

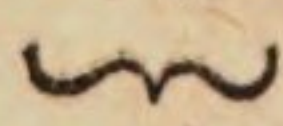
These instances we hope will convince the impartial, that we have given Mr. *Broughton* all the consideration he can reasonably expect.

(b) P. 139, 140.

(i) P. 141.

C H A P. XXX.

An essay in the Theological Repository, intituled, An Attempt to prove that the Resurrection takes Place immediately after Death. The witchcraft of Words. The author makes thought the essence of the soul. Knows every thing relating to the soul. His sound philosophy contrary to that of Mr. Locke. Asserts that the soul always thinks. His proofs examined. Begs the thing in question. Appeals to experience. The author's consequences upon the supposition that the soul does not always think. Consequences drawn by Mr. Locke from the contrary supposition. The author's interpretation of certain texts examined. Takes refuge in the quarters of the Psychopannychists. According to him, Abraham's whole unborn posterity must have been in a state of sensibility, at the time of Moses's adventure at the bush. Castellio's modesty. More texts examined. The author has a difficulty upon his hands which he did not foresee.

1770.  I AM told I cannot decently make an end of this detail, without some notice of an ingenious and spirited essay, exhibited in the *Theological Repository*, No IV. vol. ii. p. 346. with the title of *An Attempt to prove, that the Resurrection takes place immediately after Death.*

I was indeed willing to pass by this hypothesis entirely. Dr. Caleb Fleming first advanced it a few years ago, and it occasioned a controversy carried on with an acrimony very justly reprehensible on both

both sides, which I could wish were buried in utter oblivion. But the subject being once more brought into view, upon principles, as it should seem, somewhat different from those of Dr. *Fleming*, I am induced to say something to the objections alledged in this *Attempt*, against the hypothesis of those who contend for the sleep, or the insensibility of the soul, between death and the resurrection.

This task will be very short. The essayist has stated the difference between himself, and those who hold the sleep of the soul, as follows.

“ The only difference then lies here, that they
“ have the gloomy prospect of being insensible for
“ thousands of years, perhaps, before their happiness begins, whereas I endeavour to prove, that
“ their happiness shall begin immediately after
“ death (1).”

There seems to be a kind of fascination in some words, with respect to their influence upon the spirits of some sorts of people. A prospect of any degree of evil *for thousands of years*, has a most alarming sound. And insensibility is taken by this author, as one of the greatest of evils. But when the real case comes to be considered, the prospect of insensibility for one single half hour, is just as gloomy as for a million of years.

This Gentleman thinks, that if the soul or mind become insensible, it must be annihilated. “ When,” says he, “ all thought, remembrance, activity, and
“ every other property belonging to it, are extinguished, I have then no longer an idea of it [the mind]

(1) P. 395.

“ divested

“divested of all its *essential properties*, it is then destroyed, and exists no more.” p. 359.

But this writer has told us just above, that there is a *substance* in which these *properties* or qualities exist. If so the *substance* of the soul may remain, when the properties of it are no more. The *absence* of *these* properties imply indeed, that the *substance* would in that case, be in a state of insensibility. But still in a state of existence, and capable of receiving its properties again, whenever it should please the author of its being to restore them, unless indeed the Gentleman uses *substance* only as a technical term, to be taken up for mere convenience, and laid by in a state of nonexistence, when it is not wanted (*m*).

It has been said, that “all philosophical arguments, drawn from our notions of *matter*, and urged against the possibility of life, thought, and agency, being so connected with some portions of it, as to constitute a *compound Being* or Person, are merely grounded on our *ignorance* (*n*).”

But this is a consideration of no weight with our essayist, who *knows* every thing about it. “He can form very *clear* and *distinct* ideas of *body* and *spirit*, as the constituent parts of human nature. He is acquainted with the qualities of both, and tells you what each of them *possess*.——He knows that these qualities are essentially different from one another, and, consequently, so are the sub-

(*m*) See Bp. Law's Appendix, edit. 1765, p. 420. Note (Λ).

(*n*) See Bp. Law's Appendix.

stances in which they exist. He knows still more.
 “ He knows that all the arguments which have
 “ been offered to prove, that the soul sometimes
 “ ceases to think, even while we are yet alive, as
 “ in a fainting fit, a sound sleep, &c. *are vain.*”

This knowledge our essayist derives from the principles of sound philosophy. There was a time when Mr. *Locke* was esteemed a sound philosopher, and he was of a different opinion from this Gentleman, who would have done well to have pronounced with a little more diffidence for his own opinion, unless he could have brought a better argument to support it. Let us consider the force of it.

“ All the arguments,” says he, “ which have
 “ been offered to prove, that *the soul sometimes ceases*
 “ *to think*, are vain. They only prove, that we do
 “ not always remember *what* we think. I do not
 “ remember one thought that passed through my
 “ mind upon the first day of *January* last. Will any
 “ one from thence conclude, that I was in a state of
 “ insensibility all that day? In short, it is one thing
 “ to think, and another thing to remember *what*
 “ we thought (o).”

At what distance of time from the first of *January* here mentioned, this writer penn'd this paragraph, we are not informed. Let us suppose it to be exactly three months after, *viz.* on the first of *April*. The question I would put to him, should be, not whether he remembered *what* he thought on the first of *January*? but whether he remembered on

the first of *April*, that he thought at all on the first of *January*? Undoubtedly he would answer this question in the affirmative, for he seems not disposed to take it well, that any one should suppose he was *insensible* on that day. I would then ask him, on the same first of *April*, whether he remembered that he thought at all on the thirty-first of *March*, *i. e.* the day before? Here I should expect he would tell me, not only that he remembered that he thought, but likewise the subject of many of his thoughts. I would then go on, and supposing him to have slept well on the night of the thirty-first of *March*, I would intreat him to tell me, *what* he thought on during that sound sleep? If he should say, he did not remember; I would then request he would favour me with a convincing argument, that, during that sound sleep, he thought at all; for though I can readily allow, that, to think, and to remember what we have thought at the distance of three months, are two different things, yet till I understand, from the sound philosophy of this Gentleman, that I am mistaken, I shall be of opinion, that *not to think*, and *not to be conscious that we think*, is one and the same thing.

But, “thought is *essential* to the soul; if you “deprive the soul of the faculty of thinking, you “*annihilate* the soul.”

But this, Mr. *Locke* says, is to beg the question; and the soul-sleepers are not disposed to give it up.

“We know certainly by experience,” says this great man, “that we *sometimes* think, and thence “draw an infallible consequence, that there is some-
“thing

“ thing in us which has a power to think. But
 “ whether that substance *perpetually* thinks or no,
 “ we can be no further assured, than experience
 “ informs us. For to say that actual thinking is
 “ *essential* to the soul, and inseparable from it, is to
 “ beg what is in question, and not to prove it by
 “ reason, which is necessary to be done, if it is not
 “ a self-evident proposition (*p*).”

Let us try then how far *experience* will carry us
 in this disquisition. The idea of duration arises
 from a succession of ideas, and by that succession,
 duration is measured in our minds. “ When that
 “ *succession of ideas* ceases,” says Mr. *Locke*, “ our
 “ perception of *duration* ceases with it, which every
 “ one clearly experiments in himself, whilst he
 “ sleeps soundly, whether an hour, or a day, or
 “ a month, or a year; of which duration of things,
 “ whilst he sleeps or thinks not, he has no percep-
 “ tion at all, but it is quite lost to him, and the
 “ moment wherein he leaves off to think, till the
 “ moment he begins to think again, seems to him
 “ to have no distance (*q*).”

This, I apprehend, is matter of experience (*r*),
 and

(*p*) Essay, book ii. chap. i. sect. 10.

(*q*) Essay, book ii. chap. xiv. sect. 4.

(*r*) There are numberless instances of this. A remarkable
 one may be seen in Mr. *Peckard's* Farther Observations on the
 Doctrine of an intermediate State, p. 32. Another I shall
 transcribe from the *Gazetteer*, Saturday, September 28, 1771,
 which is brought me whilst I am writing on the subject.
 “ Yesterday se’nnight the wife of a tradesman in *May's-build-*
 “ ings, St. Martin’s lane, going to bed as usual, in good
 “ health,

and to oppose it by saying, that the soul thinks without any succession of ideas, or without perception, is something more than begging the question. It is playing an imaginary hypothesis against matter of fact. If this reasoning of Mr. *Locke's* does not convince this essayist, that *the soul does not always think*, I hope it will convince him, that it is not to be overthrown by barely saying, that such reasoning is vain. To say that a man does not remember *what* he thought at a particular time, when he is not, nor ever was conscious, that he thought at all at that time, is using a language which a sound philosopher would probably call jargon.

“ But,” says this Gentleman, “ even suppose the
“ souls of men to exist in such a state, what valuable end can it serve in the creation? for God
“ does nothing in vain. An immense multitude of
“ souls in a state of insensibility, can be of no use
“ to themselves; they can be of no use to others;
“ they are of less use in the Universe, than the
“ meanest particles of matter are in the system of
“ nature, &c. &c.” p. 360.

Every thing has two handles. When the author of this *attempt* has answered the following questions which laid in his way, as an incumbrance upon his hypothesis, it will be time enough to think of answers to *his* interrogatories.

“ health, fell asleep, in which she continued till Tuesday
“ morning, although several methods were taken to awake
“ her, but without effect, till she awoke of herself, got up,
“ and went about her household business, and it was with difficulty she could be persuaded it was any other day than Saturday.”

“ If

“ If the soul has no memory of its own thoughts ;
 “ if it cannot lay them up for its use, and be able to
 “ recal them upon occasion ; if it cannot reflect upon
 “ what is past, and make use of its former experiences,
 “ reasonings, and contemplations, to what purpose
 “ does it think ? They who make the soul a think-
 “ ing thing, at this rate, will not make it a much more
 “ noble being than those do whom they condemn
 “ for allowing it to be nothing but the subtilest part
 “ of matter. Characters drawn in dust, that the first
 “ breath of wind effaces ; or impressions made on
 “ a heap of atoms, or animal spirits, are altogether
 “ as useful, and render the subject as noble, as the
 “ thoughts of a soul that perish in thinking ; that
 “ once out of sight are gone for ever, and leave
 “ no memory of themselves behind them. Nature
 “ never makes excellent things for mean or no uses ;
 “ and it is hardly to be conceived, that our infinite-
 “ ly wise Creator should make so admirable a fa-
 “ culty as the power of thinking, that faculty which
 “ comes nearest the excellency of his own incom-
 “ prehensible Being, to be so idly and uselessly em-
 “ ployed, at least one fourth part of its time here,
 “ as to think constantly, without remembering any
 “ of those thoughts, without doing any good to it-
 “ self or others, or being any way useful to any
 “ other part of the creation. If we examine it, we
 “ shall not find, I suppose, the motion of dull and
 “ senseless matter, any where in the universe made
 “ so little use of, and so wholly thrown away (s).”

(s) Locke's Essay, b. 2. chap. i. sect. 15.

That our essayist contrived his questions to be even with Mr *Locke*, there can be little doubt. But *his* questions neither contain nor imply any answers to those of *Locke*. Let him answer *Locke's* questions in the first place, and I am persuaded he will then want no answers to his own. It is not barely an *occasional* want of memory, that will account for the insensibility of a sound-sleeping man, with respect to his thoughts in that state. It is a total deprivation of all memory and consciousness of thinking, which, to support our author's hypothesis, must be made consistent with the actual power or faculty of thinking without intermission.

It is upon this hypothesis, *that the soul never ceases to think*, that our author's interpretations of the texts he makes use of, wholly depend. He supposes, that in fact, the soul exists not in a naked separate state for a single second of time. The resurrection-body, according to him, is put on *immediately* after the departure of the soul from the mortal body. Upon any other principle his expositions are mere arbitrary assertions, for which there are no grounds; the major part of his citations being, without this postulatam, equally favourable to a final and general resurrection and judgment of *all* the dead, at a particular period.

One or two of his interpretations will serve to make this plain.

“The Apostle *Paul*,” says he, “evidently supposes, that the human soul can exist in a state of happiness immediately after its separation
“from

“from the body.” And then having quoted, 2 Cor. xii. 23. *I knew a man in Christ, &c.* he goes on thus.

“It is true, indeed, the apostle was not dead and buried at the time when this happened; but if the soul becomes insensible when separated from the body, he never could have been in paradise, and heard such unutterable things; and his *uncertainty* depended upon the possibility of a separate state of conscious existence.” p. 362.

I cannot well tell what to make of this. It seems to be an *Attempt to prove, that the resurrection does NOT take place immediately after death.* That is to say, to prove that the separate soul may be in a state of happiness without the resurrection-body, and if so, every thing may happen to the separate soul, which our author supposes to happen to it in conjunction with the resurrection-body, even a *final judgment*.

Had he turned this incident to the account of his system, he must have supposed, that *Paul* had, *pro hac vice*, a resurrection-body conferred upon him, as a qualification for his admittance into *Paradise*. And I do not see that *Paul's uncertainty* precludes this supposition, any more than the supposition of his soul's being in a state of separate existence during this ecstatic vision.

But then, what must have become of *Paul's* mortal body, which, according to this *Attempt*, was *neither dead nor buried*? And when *Paul's* soul returned to *that* body, what became of his *resurrection-body*?

These are difficulties which bear so hard upon this
Y writer's

writer's hypothesis, that he found it necessary to give way to the *Psychopannychists* in one part of their hypothesis which contradicts his own, that he might avail himself of another part, *viz.* that *the soul always thinks*. For "he finds in scripture, that all the promises of future happiness are to be accomplished only at the resurrection," p. 352. a plain argument, that men will not be in a capacity to enjoy that happiness *before* the resurrection. But here is an inference drawn from the case of *Paul*, that there is not only a *possibility* that it may be otherwise, *viz.* that the separate soul may be made happy without *any* resurrection, but a necessity, that it must have been otherwise in the case of *St. Paul*, unless we suppose him to have had two bodies at the same time.

"Our Saviour's argument," says the Gentleman, "against the Sadducees, is utterly inconsistent with a state of insensibility." He then quotes *Luke xx. 37. 38. Now that the dead are raised, &c.* upon which he thus descants.

"From these words it is evident, that *Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob* were then living in another world; and that all the past generations of men, though dead to us, and gone from the world, are nevertheless alive in the sight of God, and in another state, for all live to him, though they may be dead to us," p. 363.

The reader will here be pleased to observe, that, *even Moses shewed at the bush, that the dead are raised, and he shewed this by calling the Lord the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.*"

“Jacob.” This then was as good an argument for the resurrection of the dead, in the days of *Moses*, as in the days of our Saviour. And our observer is extremely right in extending the conclusion to be drawn from it, to *the past generations of men*, that is to say, to all the generations of men, which existed between *Moses’s* adventure at the bush, and the time when our Saviour disputed with these Sadducees. For it is, I think, agreed on all hands, that the terms, *I am the God of Abraham*, imply a promise to Abraham, and all his posterity collectively. If, therefore, it is really true, that “our Saviour’s argument against the *Sadducees*, is utterly inconsistent with a state of *insensibility*,” it must be true, that all the souls of the past generations, *i.e.* of all the generations of men between *Moses* and Christ, were in a state of *sensibility* at the time of God’s appearance to *Moses* at the bush; for the words, *all live unto God*, considered as a consequence arising from the proposition, *I am the God of Abraham, &c.* must extend to those who were *unborn*, as well as to those who were *dead*, when *Moses* shewed this at the bush (*t*).

“All live to God,” says our author, “though they may be dead to us.” Which he understands to mean, that all live to God, *in another state, and in another world*. But God who quickeneth the dead, says St. Paul, *calleth those things that are not, as though they were*; which is indeed referring the life

(*t*) See this matter more fully explained in a Pamphlet, intituled, *Remarks on Dr. Warburton’s account of the sentiments of the early Jews concerning the soul*, p. 52—69.

of those who are dead to us, to *another state* and *another world*, but it is a *future world*, which is no farther in existence, in the account of God himself, than that *all things*, past, present, and to come, are naked and open to his omniscience.

Castellio tells us, that when, in translating the New Testament, he met with this passage, (Luke xx. 38.) he made no note upon it, because *he did not then understand it*. (An example of modesty in this excellent person, which, in this instance at least, it would not have misbecome our author to follow). But when he came to Rom. iv. 11,—17, he seems to have had a fuller insight into the meaning of our Saviour: and accordingly gives us his explanation under that chapter, which, because it seems to be full as clear and consistent as any I have met with, I put down in the margin (*u*).

What our author says of *Abraham, Isaac, and*

(*u*) *Viventium Deus est, non mortuorum: quippe cum ei vivant omnes. De qua ibi (Sc. Luc. xx) ideo nihil scripsi, quod eam nondum intelligebam: videbatur enim animorum immortalitatem ostendere, quum de resurrectione disputaret. Quanquam ne nunc quidem de eâ affirmabo, tantum dicam quid mihi venerit in mentem. Quum dicatur Abrahami, Isaaci, et Jacobi, necesse est ut aut illi vivant, aut Deus sit mortuorum Deus. Atqui mortuorum esse Deum, est nullius esse Deum, quum mortui non sint. Necesse est ergo ut illi vivant. Sed non vivunt. Fateor, non vivunt hominibus quibus tantum præsens vita, præsens est. Sed vivunt Deo, qui eos in vitam revocabit; quæ vita nobis futura, Deo præsens est. Ergo erit mortuorum resurrectio. His Christus Sadducæos refellit. Castellio in Rom. iv. 11—17.*

Jacob

Jacob, being *then* living in another world, is a mere arbitrary notion, resulting from his not understanding the style of scripture. They lived *then* in another world, just as much as their unborn posterity did, *when* this declaration was made at the bush. *Castellio* saw the absurdity of such an interpretation; he saw, that if our Saviour's argument proved only the immortality, or separate life of the human soul, it would be inconclusive as to the resurrection of the dead; and therefore rightly expounds the words, *for all live unto God*, (as the passage suggests) of the all-comprehending mind of the Creator, which takes in all futurity, with the same distinct intuition as things that are present (x).

St. Peter, to assist our imperfect conceptions of this matter, reminds those to whom he wrote his second epistle, *that one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day*, chap. iii. v. 8. As this text relates to the question, *Where is the promise of his coming?* v. 4. and was intended to ac-

(x) Sed quid sit omnes Deo vivere, et ei omnia esse præsens, adhuc manet obscurius. Nos sic conabimur exponere. — Fluit aqua *Rheni*. Ejus parvula portio mihi nunc præsens est, quæ paulo ante præsens erat *Schafusianis*. Eadem paulo post præsens erit *Argentinesibus*. At Sol totum hoc spatium præsens habet, tamque ei præsens *Argentina* est, quam *Basilea*. Sic tempus fluit ut aqua: temporis pars ea, in qua sumus, nobis præsens est. At Deo qui maximus est et sempiternus, *universum tempus, et quod fuit, et quod est, et quod erit*, præsens est. Ita quod reviviscet aliquando, et vivet *Abrahamus*, id nobis absens et futurum est. At Deo id tempus, et proinde ea res, præsens adest. — Hæc ego caligantibus animi oculis dico, non affirmo. *Castellio*, ubi supra. Κατεναντι-θεου, *coram Deo*] Quum coram hominibus nondum extarent illæ gentes. *Bengelius* in Rom. iv. 17.

count for the *delay* of it, the passage is so unfavourable to our essayist's hypothesis, that it was absolutely necessary for him to evade the conclusion to be drawn from it, if it was possible. Passing by therefore the four next verses, he settles upon the 13th, where it is said, *Nevertheless we, according to his promise, look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness*, which he interprets of those *mansions* which our Saviour spake of preparing for his disciples, *John* xiv. 2. 3. and in which he supposes them to be *already* placed. And this he calls, *leading* us to the Apostle's meaning. But *Peter* seems to have known nothing of all this. Had he known that the *promise* was already fulfilled, he surely would not have set himself to account for the *delay* of it. His readers were impatient to have it fulfilled. To reconcile them to this *delay*, he tells them, that, *with the Lord, a thousand years are but as one day*, by which he means evidently to take off, what our author calls, *the gloominess of the prospect* of waiting for it in a state of death, for a thousand years. He then tells them, that *the Lord is not slack or tardy concerning his promise*, (the promise of his coming) *as some men count slackness*; but suspends it from his compassion and *long suffering*, *not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance*. And this *long suffering* of God being indefinite, it might last for many generations beyond that in which St. Peter's disciples lived; and so long as it *did* last, so long would the coming of Christ, the day of the Lord, be deferred.

But now, upon our author's hypothesis, where
was

was the propriety, or the pertinence of these topics of consolation addressed to these Christians, unless some of them had a chance to live a thousand years, or as many thousands as the long suffering of God might dispose him to defer the coming of Christ? The final coming of Christ, according to our author, was nothing to any one, but to those who should be alive on the earth at that period. “The dead, “whether *in Christ* or not, immediately after they “died, arose from the dead, *in his account*, appeared before the judgment seat of Christ, and have “received a sentence according to the deeds done “in the body, whether they be good or evil.” What is the *promise* of the coming of Christ to all or any of these? Was not the Apostle, upon our author’s hypothesis, amusing them with an account of an event in which they would have no concern, if they departed this life (as he plainly intimates they might do) before it happened, instead of comforting them with the assurance, that as soon as they departed this life, the *promise* would be made good to them, with all those effects which would attend its more visible performance, among the generations of men they should leave behind them?

The common sense of every reader of the scriptures of the New Testament, must be shocked with the contemplation, that *the day of the Lord*; — *the day which God hath appointed to judge the world in righteousness*; — *the day when God shall judge the secrets of men*; *the great day of judgment*, shall affect none but those who shall be living upon the earth at that period, that is to say, not a thousand mil-

lionth part of those to whom the promise of Christ's coming was made, and who, according to the language of holy writ, are to be doomed happy or miserable by it.

From these two instances, without examining any others, it is presumeable that this ingenious observer's interpretations of the scriptures he quotes, are not sufficiently authentic to support the conclusions he would draw from them. And he has one difficulty upon his hands, which possibly he did not foresee. He has all the antiscriptural consequences of a separate existence to account for, save one, that of a second judgment, to supersede which, he is obliged considerably to darken the scriptural evidence we have, that there will be any future judgment at all.

CON-

CONCLUSION.

Inferences from the foregoing Historical View. Advantages given to Papists, by the groundless concessions of Protestants. An instance from Cardinal Alan's works. Calvinists who treat those who deny the natural immortality as Atheists. Various instances of abuse thrown upon those who hold the doctrine of the sleep of the soul. Their adversaries not uniform. Churchmen and philosophers divided after a long alliance. The scriptures owned by the former to be the only criterion. Tillotson's concession on this head, unfavourable to his side of the question. Advantages given to unbelievers by the Psychologists. Metaphysical subtleties not to be regarded. The final appeal to the scripture only. An article of news from Copenhagen in the year 1762. A remark upon it.

I AM greatly afraid the foregoing detail will appear to be tedious; and yet there is little more taken into it, than seemed to me to be absolutely necessary to shew the rise and progress of those prejudices and that confusion, which, to this hour, perplex the question concerning an intermediate state. The account might have been swelled to ten times its present bulk. What is here exhibited, seems to be sufficient to authorise the following conclusions.

First, That the notion of the soul's immortality as a truth independent on the Christian Revelation, was bred and nourished among the schoolmen of the twelfth, thirteenth, and a great part of the two following

lowing centuries, when senseless quibbles pass for the productions of genius, and unmeaning jargon, for profound erudition. It will probably be said, that the same conclusions have, since the revival of letters, and the cultivation of sound philosophy, been drawn from rational premises. Concerning this, every man may judge as he sees cause. I am unhappy enough to find no more demonstration in the reasonings of *Clarke* and *Baxter* for the natural immortality of the soul, than in the syllogisms of *Lombard* and *Aquinas*.

Secondly, That these scholastic subtleties were adopted by the Popish divines, as the ground-work of the fable of purgatory, and the idolatrous invocation of saints. Hence the scholastic immortality was incorporated, or rather confounded with the immortality brought to light by the gospel; and both represented as affording mutual light and support to each other, and equally sanctified by the canons and decrees of the church, in order to deter those who were disposed and qualified to philosophize upon better principles, from pursuing their disquisitions to a fatal detection of these and other absurdities, which could not have subsisted otherwise than by retreating under the artillery of the *Vatican*.

Thirdly, That though the Protestants, on all other subjects, rejected all doctrines which were not built on a scripture-foundation, they unhappily contented themselves on *this*, with the testimony of popish and pagan *tradition*, and being either unable or unwilling to investigate the real meaning of certain terms

terms used in the scriptures, weakly concluded, from the mere sound of them, that the doctrine of the scriptures, and of the reigning philosophy concerning the immortality or separate existence of the soul, was one and the same. Hence,

Fourthly, In all their disputes with the Papists concerning the superstitions grounded on purgatory and saint-worship, they directed their arguments to the wrong object ; and instead of insisting, that the immortality subsequent to the general resurrection, was the only conscious future state allotted in scripture, either for saints or sinners, they embarrassed themselves with an hypothesis of departed souls, taken either immediately into heaven, or immediately thrust into a place of final torment, which it was not only impossible for them to verify, but exposed them to the reproach of deserting the most orthodox of the Christian Fathers, who had provided hidden receptacles and intermediate *Limboes*, for different classes of human souls, according to their deservings, till all should be finally set right at a general judgment.

The Papists failed not to make their advantage of this weakness in their adversaries. They argued thus. “ A middle state is what most Protestants own ; it is therefore more reasonable to believe “ what the church teaches about it, than *to think at* “ *random* in this respect.” Thus Cardinal *Alan* expressed himself in a dispute with Bishop *Jewel* concerning purgatory and prayers for the dead (y).

(y) Biog. Brit. ALLAN (William) rem. [C].

He was in the right. For the scriptures containing no account of this *middle state*, a man might as well take the church's *random* account of it, as be at the pains to frame one of his own.

“*Most* Protestants,” says the Cardinal, “own a “middle state.” Whence it may be inferred, that *all* Protestants did not: and a great misfortune it was to the cause of the reformation, that they who did not own it, were not heard with patience and candour. Unhappily the Protestants had made up their system, and fixed the boundary of orthodoxy, beyond which it was not permitted to pass: and in this matter, they acted just after the precedent the Papists themselves had set them. *Calvinists* particularly treated all who questioned the natural immortality of the soul, as impious, heretical, and no better at the bottom than atheists, even to the end of the last century.

For example. “He who denies the immortality “of the soul, denies *effectually* the *Being* and *Pro-* “*vidence* of God, and the *full expectation* of re- “compenses to be distributed after this life, accor- “ding to the actions which dying persons have “practised through the race of their mortality.”

This determination is to be found in the preface to a book wrote by *Timothy Manlove*, and published in the year 1696, intituled, *The Immortality of the Soul, asserted*. The Preface was written, at least subscribed by *John Howe* and *Matthew Sylvester* names of renown in their day among the Dissenters, among whom likewise Mr. *Manlove* was a minister.

In

In answer to this, Mr. *Layton* above-mentioned, in his observations on *Manlove's* treatise, reminds them, that “ The certainty of a resurrection, and last judgment, rests not upon the belief of the soul’s immortality, but upon the strong current and agreement of the Gospel, and seems to be as true, evident, and well proved, as the truth of that text is, that *Jesus Christ came to save sinners*; although says Mr. *L.* Mr. *Manlove*, his elders and churches, and many others, take too little notice of them, and make mention of them accordingly.” Meaning, that they undervalued the evidence of the scripture for a future state, in comparison of that drawn from the natural immortality of the soul.

And if this was not truly the case, what could Messieurs *Howe* and *Sylvester* mean by *the full expectation of recompenses*, as if such expectation grounded on scripture evidence was not *sufficiently* full, without the aid of a philosophical demonstration? And then, if the scripture is not sufficient in one case, why not insufficient in another? And if this insufficiency is to be supplied by traditions, why are not ecclesiastical traditions as availing as philosophical ones? Why should the immortality of the soul be believed rather than a Purgatory? or lastly, Why should the Papists be thought to argue more absurdly, and childishly when they infer a man’s atheism from his disbelief of their *other* doctrines, than such Protestants as these, who draw the same consequence from the disbelief or denial of the natural immortality of the soul?

In

In the same strain of *illiberal, inquisitorial* abuse (for it is no better) have these immortalists treated their opponents even to this very hour. Dr. *Goddard*, calls them *Socinians*. But all sides seem to be agreed, that he knows little or nothing of the matter. A Doctor of more importance, hath more lately stiled the sleep of the soul, A SEMIPAGAN DREAM. What may be meant by this phrase he best knows who invented it. But the doctrine so stigmatized, is supposed by some very competent judges, to be *such a dream*, that if it is not added to some *other dreams* in a book called the *Divine Legation of Moses*, &c. the main principle of that elaborate work, must effectually sink under a most manifest and mortifying incapacity of *Demonstration*.

The same author hath said, on the same occasion, that “ They who hold the soul to be only a
 “ *quality*, and yet talk of its sleep between death
 “ and the resurrection, use a jargon, which con-
 “ founds all languages, as well as reason. For such
 “ a sleep is an annihilation, and the waking again,
 “ a new creation.”

As for the jargon, we freely resign it to whom it may belong. Whether the soul is a *quality* or a *substance*, if its conscious perception is suspended between death and the resurrection, you may call that *annihilation*, or whatever else you please, provided you will allow that God can create it anew. We are certain the Creator has the same power over the soul as over the body. The body returns to the dust from whence it was originally taken ;
 and

and if the same body is to be restored to its vital functions, or if another body is to be substituted out of the same materials, it is either way, as strictly and properly a new creation, as that of *Adam* was. But, according to our critic's principles, to say, such a body *sleeps*, is using a jargon which confounds all languages, as well as reason. The comfort however is, that, even our adversaries being judges, it is the jargon of the *New Testament*.

For ought then that appears to the contrary, the doctrine of the sleep of the soul, may be a doctrine of the *Socinians*, and yet no heresy. It may be in the estimation of some people, a *Semipagan dream*, and still perfectly conformable to the scriptures, and their account of the power of God. It may ring, in some delicate ears, like jargon, and still have all the properties of good sense and sound reason.

But *Socinian*, *Semipagan*, *Idiot*, &c. are excellent words to throw an *odium* upon the persons and opinions of obnoxious adversaries, especially under the management of those who *have the art of giving wit and dignity to their Billingsgate* (z), and effectually terrify many feeble minds from examining into the real importance of any doctrines dressed out in these *Sanbenitos*.

Thus, for a long time, the decisions of pagan philosophers, and the affirmance of the natural immortality of the soul in the creeds and confessions of particular churches, went amicably hand in hand, and shared between them the glory of the universal

(z) See *Pope's works*, vol. iv. ed. 1753, p. 82.

assent and consent given to their respective demonstrations: till unhappily for themselves, the churchmen and philosophers fell out, and then, *great was the force of truth, and it prevailed.* The philosophers would needs set up for themselves, and disclaimed all obligations to the church; and when the other saw that no better would be, *they* too tried to stand upon their own legs, and affected at least to acknowledge, that the controversy with the soul-sleepers could only be decided by the scriptures, and upon that principle pretended to join issue.

“ I have not, says one of them, called this [*the sleep of the soul*] an old exploded hypothesis with a design to intimate that any considerations of that sort, would be sufficient to overthrow it. Its truth or falsehood, as a scripture-doctrine, must be determined by the authority of scripture (a).”

1758. “ The point in question, says another, is to be decided by the sacred writings alone (b).”

1759. A third acknowledges, that, “ the eternity of the soul of man, *a parte post*, has scarce the shadow of reason to support it, and is obliged to fly to revelation, to silence inquiry (c).”

Little did they consider to what distress this confession exposed them. They were not aware that the renowned *Tillotson*, a most able and zealous patron of their cause, had owned that, “ The immortality of the soul was rather supposed, or taken

(a) *Examin. of the Bp. of London's Disc.* p. 279.

(b) *Steffe's five Letters*, p. 7.

(c) *Critical Review*, August, 1759, p. 99.

“for granted, than expressly revealed in the Bible (d).”

The good archbishop indeed adds, that “The immortality of the soul may be inferred from several places of scripture, and the tenor of the whole Bible.” But if the proposition is not *expressly revealed*, the right of *inferring* is equal on all sides; and surely those conclusions which are inferred from what is expressly revealed, should be at least as just and as strong, as those which are inferred from what is not.

“And therefore, in order to form a better judgment of this matter, we must examine the scripture language more particularly, and see what all those several terms and phrases may imply in the original, which are supposed to include the doctrine above-mentioned.”

These are the words of the R. R. and worthy master of *Peterhouse*, and express the design of his *Appendix*, a work, which, by the clamour that has been raised against it, a bystander would suspect must have been planned with an express and avowed purpose of subverting the christian religion. Nor indeed is this the worst. A very learned and candid advocate for the doctrine of the said *Appendix*, having upon account of his publishing his sentiments relative thereto, undergone some such *hardships*, as had not before been heard of, for many years in this *protestant* country (e).

(d) Sermons, vol. xi. 8vo. ed. 1744, p. 4892.

(e) This relates to the case of a *learned* and *ingenious* Gentleman mentioned chap. xxvii. note (r), who does not chuse to publish the particulars, as was once expected.

But to return to the concessions above-mentioned. Both sides being thus agreed to appeal to the scriptures, one might have hoped the dispute would have been brought to a speedy and decisive issue. But it quickly appeared, that the appeal of the *immortalists* to the scriptures, was but affected. They began to perceive the scriptures were not to be trusted with the decision of so *important* and *popular* a point, without certain *accommodations* borrowed from their old Friends the philosophers. And remarkable it is, that the very man, who, as mentioned above, had put the cause upon the determination of the scriptures *alone*, without any savings to tradition, finding there was no managing Dr. *Law's* Appendix, or an acute and ingenious tract in the *Monthly Review* (*f*), which had taken him to task, this very man, I say, did not scruple to call to his aid *Pythagoras*, *Homer*, *Theognis*, *Cicero*, and *Horace*; though, to save appearances, it was under the pretence of making them interpreters to MOSES, SOLOMON, JOB, PAUL, and JOHN. What the success was of this expedient, may possibly appear upon some other occasion.

With the same consciousness that the scriptures were not to be relied upon for the proof of the natural immortality of the soul, have several contenders for that doctrine introduced the modern philosophers, *Clarke*, *Peters*, *Baxter*, &c. having the modesty, I suppose, to expect we should pay

(*f*) For *May* 1757, p. 402.

that respect to these moderns, which we had refused to their ancient masters, *Plato* and *Aristotle*.

It had been happy for these Gentlemen, supposing them qualified for the task, had they begun their lucubrations on this subject, with a previous examination, how far their ancient pagan doctors were to be depended on. That is to say, whether they do not contradict each other, and sometimes themselves? Whether the most dogmatical among them come up to the point to be proved, namely, the personal consciousness of the soul in a state of *total* disunion from the body? The future existence of the soul, incruited in corporeal particles, as some of them held, or, as others, in a state of refusion into the *τὸ ἐν*, will not answer their end in citing them, in order, I suppose, to prove the unremitting consciousness of the soul in a state of separation from *all* body, a thing, in my humble opinion, which these ancient sages, never once thought of.

For the rest, it is well known that, upon the supposed demonstration, that thought and conscious perception are natural, inherent, and permanent powers in the human soul in every state, the *Deists* build their several schemes of *natural religion*; and hence contend, there can be no occasion for any positive or particular revelation of a future state: consequently that no such revelation was ever vouchsafed. In this controversy, it is amazing to see with what alacrity Christian writers, not only grant these premises, but assert them with great vehemence, as necessary for the honour and sup-

port of revelation. But when the question comes to be, what is the use and importance of a particular revelation? they begin to perceive their mistake, and the advantage their adversaries make of these concessions. Immediately the proofs of a future state from *reason* and *nature*, which before had been as clear and demonstrative as the noon-day sun, become obscure, insufficient, and erroneous, and totally incapable of leading men to the truth, without the aid of revelation. Thus have some of the most eminent defenders of the Christian cause against Deism, drawn themselves into such manifest contradictions, as, had not their reputation been supported by merit of another sort, must have derived upon them some degree of derision and contempt.

'Tis with great regret that I am obliged to mention, on this occasion, the great names of *Tillotson*, *Stillingfleet*, *Sherlock*, *Clarke*, *Hoadley*, &c. These have been followed by great numbers of the lower classes of writers, who seem to have taken it for granted they could not go wrong, while they took men for their guides, whose victories, gained over their adversaries in other provinces, had been so indisputable.

I do not add the late philosopher *Baxter* to the list, notwithstanding his pretences to obviate *sceptical objections*, and the praises bestowed upon him by a certain writer of undoubted orthodoxy. *Baxter's* sentiments, it seems, concerning revelation, became, towards the end of his life, extremely problematical. And indeed no wonder. In *his* system

tem the soul is so exquisitely equipped with consciousness, activity, and perception, in and of itself, and put into so complete a capacity for happiness and misery in a separate state, as not to admit the least occasion for a resurrection of the dead, which accordingly is said not to have been an article in Mr. *Baxter's* creed.

These metaphysical subtleties we are however contented to let go for what men please to rate them at, provided they will allow, that God is able to suspend the natural powers and faculties of the soul, when, and for how long it may seem good unto him.

The question then will be, whether it does or does not appear, from the nature, progress, and end of his dispensations revealed in the scriptures, as well as from particular facts and declarations, that such a suspension actually takes place during the interval between death and the resurrection? And the affirmative of this question being established by the *word of God*, the patrons of the natural immortality may figure as much as they please with their demonstrations. We shall not disturb them in their amusements; though we shall certainly think them no better employed than the *irrefragable* and *angelic* doctors of scholastic memory.

The question we have with unbelievers is concerning a matter of fact, and the evidence upon which it is supported, and not concerning the result of a precarious hypothesis; concerning the sense of scripture, and the power of God; and not concerning the sense of *Plato*, *Cicero*, *Descartes* or

Dr. Clarke, or the natural powers and capabilities of matter and spirit. If it appears to be the will of God, that there should be a total intermission of consciousness in man for a certain interval, our foundation standeth sure, *we know whom we have trusted, and we are persuaded he is able to keep that which we have committed to him against the appointed day*; while all those fine spun notions of the immateriality of the soul, and all the artificial deductions from that principle, teach nothing but the art of blowing scholastic bubbles, which, when they have had their run of fashion, will as certainly go peaceably to their rest, as the old *substantial forms* have done, without the least detriment either to sound learning, or true religion. And that this may not pass for a visionary expectation, without any tokens of its accomplishment, I shall here subjoin a remarkable paragraph which appeared in all our News-papers.

“ *Copenhagen*, Jan. 9, 1762. A person of high distinction, who does not chuse to be named, but who is thoroughly persuaded of the value, and of the immortality of the soul, invites the learned to compose a short dissertation to prove by reason, and the authority of the Holy Scriptures, that the soul, distinct from the body, enjoys the faculties of thinking and acting. They have the choice of writing it, in Latin, French, German, or Danish; and he who treats the matter most clearly and solidly, will receive a gold medal of the value of ten Danish ducats. The pieces are to be sent franked, to the Office of
“ Address

“Address established in this city, before the 2d of
 “February, 1763. It is presumed, that though
 “the reward is but trifling, the importance of the
 “subject will produce a number of competitors.”

However this respectable person may be persuaded of the *immortality* of the soul, it seems he is not quite satisfied, that it enjoys the faculties of *thinking* and *acting* distinct from the body, even after all the *demonstrations* of that point that have been offered to the world, by writers of the first reputation in such researches. It is not to be doubted, but the reward, trifling as it is, hath produced a number of competitors. The honour of having a medal to shew, charged with legends and ensigns of victory, will be a sufficient incentive to many an aspiring mind, which would despise the remuneration of four pounds, twelve shillings and sixpence Danish currency. In the mean time, the curiosity of the public will be interested to know what the competitors themselves have produced, and in what respects the *clearness* and *solidity* of their lucubrations have given satisfaction to this Querist of high distinction, and supplied the defects of so many able writers who have gone before them in this intricate disquisition.

A P P E N D I X.

*Containing an Inquiry into the sentiments of
MARTIN LUTHER concerning the
state of the Soul between Death and the
Resurrection.*

*Cardinal Du Perron asserts, that Luther held that
the soul died with the body. Mr. Bayle treats this
as a calumny. Writes to a Lutheran minister to
know what pretext there was for this. The mini-
ster's answer. Shewn to be futile and evasive. A
passage from Dr. Jortin's Life of Erasmus. Exa-
mined. Several passages from Luther's works, with
remarks.*

“**L**UTHER,” says Cardinal Du Perron, “held,
“that the soul died with the body, and that
“God would hereafter raise both the one and
“the other (g).”

Mr. Bayle is in high wrath with the Cardinal on

(g) *Perroniana au Motte (LUTHER).*

this

this occasion, and thinks it below his eminence's dignity and reputation to advance such a calumny. But *Bayle*, supposing there might be something in *Luther's* works that gave a colour for *Du Perron's* accusation, applied himself to a divine of the confession of *Augsburgh*, desiring to know of him, "if there were any pretext, that could occasion *Du Perron's* speaking as above (b)."

The answer of this Lutheran minister, as it is exhibited in *Bayle's* Dictionary, will give me occasion to examine into *Luther's* real opinion on this subject.

He begins with saying, "*Luther* never taught that the soul died with the body, and was to rise again with the body; it can never be proved by his works, that he was of this opinion."

Perhaps these propositions, as the Cardinal has expressed them, are not to be found in *Luther's* works, in so many words. We have seen however above, that *Luther* mentioned the *immortality of the soul*, as a *portentous opinion*, supported by nothing but the Pope's decrees. And, indeed, if *Luther* did not hold an opinion equivalent to this ascribed to him by *Du Perron*, I would desire to be informed, what may be the meaning of the following annotation upon *Eccles. ix. 10.*

"*Quia in inferno nullum est opus, &c.] Alius locus quod mortui nihil sentiant. Sensit ergo Salomon, mortuos omnino dormire, et nihil prorsus sentire. Jacent ibi mortui non numerantes dies vel an-*

(b) Art. LUTHER. Rem. (D. D).

" nos,

“ nos, sed excitati, videbuntur sibi vix momentum
 “ dormivisse. — Infernus autem significat foveam,
 “ sepulchrum; proprie vero, me iudice, significat
 “ illud abditum recessum in quo dormiunt mortui
 “ extra hanc vitam, unde anima abit in suum lo-
 “ cum, (qualiscunque est, non enim corporalis esse
 “ potest) ut intelligas infernum dici, ubi continen-
 “ tur animæ extra hunc corporalem mundum, si-
 “ cut terra est sepulchrum corporis (i).”

Here we find the soul as well as the body, in a
sound, insensible sleep, and contained in an *incorpo-
 real sepulchre*, in like manner as the body is con-
 tained in the ground; the present and future con-
 dition of both denoted by the words *mortui* and
excitati; and all this delivered by *Luther* as his
 own opinion.

Our divine proceeds. “ And he (*Luther*) has
 “ very clearly shewn, that he believed quite con-
 “ trary. Consult what he has written upon the
 “ 8th verse of the 4th chapter of *Genesis*, where he
 “ speaks of the death of *Abel*.

Here then follows the passage referred to, in *Lu-
 ther's* own latin.

“ *Gen. iv. 9. Et dicit Dominus ad Cain, ubi est*
 “ *Habel, frater tuus?*] Hic clare ostenditur resur-
 “ rectio mortuorum, siquidem Deus se mortui *Ha-
 “ bel* Deum esse testatur, et mortuum *Habel* requi-
 “ rit. Ex hoc enim loco conteximus firmissimam
 “ rationem, quod si nullus esset qui curam nostri
 [“ haberet post hanc vitam, *Habel* occisus non esset

(i) Opera. Wittemb. Tom. iv. fol. 36. 1574.

“ requisitus.

“requisitus. Sed Deus requirit *Habel* sublatum ex
 “hac vita, non vult ejus oblivisci, retinet memo-
 “riam ejus, quærit ubi sit? Ergo Deus est mortu-
 “orum Deus; hoc est, ergo etiam mortui vivunt,
 “et habent Deum curantem et salvantem eos in
 “alia vita quam hæc corporalis est, in qua sancti
 “affliguntur (k).”

The question is what *Luther* thought of *the departed soul*? And we are sent to consult a passage where the soul is not once mentioned. The whole note is concerning the *dead person*, and respects the state of the dead body, just as much as the state of the departed soul; and the proposition to be proved is *the resurrection of the dead*. I do not undertake to support *Luther's* logic; but it is manifest upon what scripture his argument is grounded. The same indeed, which has been brought to prove the separate existence of the soul, though the soul is not once mentioned in our Saviour's argument with the Sadducees, to which *Luther* here refers. But what wonder, when men take these liberties with the scriptures to serve an hypothesis, that they should do the like by the writings of private doctors? For the rest, had *Du Perron* undertaken to find the doctrine he ascribes to *Luther*, in this passage just cited, it would have been an easier task, than to confute the doctrine itself when he had found it.

I return to *Luther's* apologist. “The origin of
 “the calumny,” says he, “is in a letter he [*Luther*]

(k) Opera. Wittemb. Tom. vi. fol. 64.

“ wrote to *Amsdorf* in the year 1522, in which he
 “ appears much inclined to believe that the souls
 “ of the just sleep to the day of judgment, without
 “ knowing where they are, &c. He does not pre-
 “ tend to say that they are dead in this interval,
 “ but only lay in a profound rest and sleep, in
 “ which opinion he followed many fathers of the
 “ ancient church.”

This Letter to *Amsdorf* I have never been able to meet with, or to hear of, after much inquiry; nor is it very material, as *Luther's* sentiments are sufficiently evident from this short account of it. But the calumny, so far as it is one, did not take its rise, solely at least, from this letter. I have now by me a popish book in English, containing the lives of some of the Reformers, printed many years before *Du Perron's* time, in which the disbelief of the immortality of the soul is objected to *Luther*, and the authorities appealed to are *Luther's* defence of his *articles* against Pope *Leo's* Bull, cited above p. 10, and his comment upon *Eccles. ix. 10.* just mentioned, without any reference to, or mention of this letter to *Amsdorf*. If our apologist knew of these passages in *Luther's* works, he imposed upon Mr. *Bayle* in representing this doctrine of his master, as only to be found in a private letter. But to take him in his own way.

I. That *Luther* did not pretend to say, the souls of the just are dead in this interval, is to little purpose, as *the profound rest and sleep, without knowing where they are*, answers the Cardinal's purpose just as well: not to mention a suspicious *et cætera* in the

the *Lutheran* divine's report, which may probably conceal more than he thought proper to express.

2. The authority of the Fathers would have been much to the apologist's purpose, had he brought it in support of *Luther's* opinion against the cavils of the papists. But it is of no sort of avail to defend an opinion of *Luther*, which, in the judgment of our apologist, ought to be *rectified*. As to the Fathers who were of this opinion, it is probable they saw this *profound rest and sleep*, as necessary for themselves, and for the apostles before them, in opposing the *demon-worship* of the Pagans, as *Luther* found it afterwards to confound the saint-worship of Popery.

Well, "but *Luther*, says the apologist, rectified "this opinion in process of time."

Did *Luther* then so far alter his mind as to recant, and espouse the contrary doctrine? No, our apologist does not say *that*, though he would not be unwilling *Bayle* should so understand him. He only means that he qualified his opinions with certain *saving* limitations, the import of which, we shall have occasion presently to consider. In the mean time, it is next to certain, that he held *the sleep of the soul*, for ten long years without these *savings*, namely, from the year 1522, the date of his letter to *Amsdorf*, to the year 1532, when he published his commentary on *Ecclesiastes*. And his reflection on the death of *John* Elector of *Saxony*, who died of an apoplexy immediately upon his returning from the chace, that same year, shews that he was then in no disposition to retract it. *Deus*,
says

says Luther, *illi evenire fecit, quod pueris, qui absque cura nascuntur, vivunt et exspirant; cum resurrecturus est* [Electo] *in die novissimo, putabit se ex saltu Lochaviensi, ubi venabatur, venire* (1).

The Apology is thus concluded. “And though
“*Luther* seems in his later writings, to attribute *rest*
“to the souls of the predestinate, he does not mean
“thereby a rest which is a profound sleep, and de-
“prives them of the vision and conversation of
“God and the angels. See his commentary on
“the 24th [it should be the 25th] chapter of *Gene-*
“*sis*, where he speaks very largely of the state of
“souls departed.”

So then *Luther* still persisted that the souls of the predestinate were *at rest*. But before we proceed to examine these particular passages in the commentary on *Genesis*, it will be necessary to premise the following considerations.

1. That *Luther* himself acknowledges he was sometimes obliged to take methods of expounding scripture which he himself did not approve, *in gratiam auditorum* (m).

2. That this commentary on *Genesis*, was delivered at *Wittenberg* in the way of public lectures, to a promiscuous company of scholars and others, from the year 1536 to the year 1545. They were not intended for publication, till *Luther* understood that *Cruciger*, *Rorarius*, and others, had taken them down in writing. The account he himself gives of

(1) Seckendorf. Hist. Luth. lib. iii. p. 30.

(m) Seckendorf. u. s. lib. ii. p. 24.

them is remarkable enough to be transcribed. *Ex-temporaliter et populariter omnia dicta sunt, prout in buccam venerunt verba, crebro et mixtim etiam Germanica, verbosius certe quam vellem (n).*

3. That some disputes had happened among his followers upon the question, *what becomes of the soul after death?* which *Luther* assigns as the reason why he meddled with the question at all (o): which disputes, by the way, he had endeavoured all along to silence, by saying, “that nothing is revealed to us on that head, and that it is rash to affirm any thing about it without the word of God (p).”

4. It is certain that the general prejudice was against *Luther's* opinion. The article of the *intercession* of saints which led directly to the practice of *invocation*, stuck long with many Protestants, even whole churches, and *Luther* himself was obliged to compromise matters with them as well as he could, even so late as the year 1539 (q). And what

(n) Seckendorf. u. s. lib. iii. p. 669.

(o) Ego quidem propterea eam disputationem attingo, ut præcidam et amoveam curiosas aliorum quæstiones et disputationes. *In Genesin.* xxv. 8.

(p) See his annotation on *Isaiah* lxiv. 15, and compare it with what he says on *Matth.* xvi. 25.

(q) Seckendorf. Index tertius. Supplend. ad ann. 1522. And in the year 1539, it was among the instructions of those who were appointed to visit the *Marche* of *Brandenburg*, “that they should injoin the Pastors, to bring men *by degrees*, “from the saints unto God; that this would best be done by “teaching them, that there was neither precept, example, nor “form in the scriptures for the invocation of saints.—But “that

what wonder that in these circumstances, and in a public lecture to which all sorts of people had access, *Luther* should endeavour to put the determination of this question upon such a footing, that they among the Protestants who were disposed to honour and revere the saints, should neither be scandalized at his treating them as *non-existents*, nor take occasion from his concessions, to call for their intercession by prayer and adoration?

Let us now see how far this commentary on *Genesis* may be supposed to have been adapted to these circumstances. I shall give the citations in

“ that these things should be inculcated with caution and modesty, lest the saints should be contumeliously treated, and deprived of their true honour.” *Seckendorf*, l. iii. p. 238. *Maimbourg*, in his history of *Lutheranism*, says, that at the conference held at *Augsburgh*, 1530, on the design of reconciling the Protestants and the Papists, “ the former owned that saints and angels intercede for us, and were therefore to be honoured, but not invoked.” *Seckendorf* does not contradict this, where it falls in his way, *Lib.* ii. p. 178. He only observes that both sides agreed, that invocation was not commanded in scripture. Afterwards indeed, *viz.* lib. iii. p. 548, in answer to the bishop of *Hildersheim*, who insisted on the same fact: *Seckendorf*, says, “ he does not find any such concession was ever made, either at the conference at *Augsburgh*, or elsewhere.” The fact seems to have been, that *Melancthon*, a man of peace and meekness, had been too soft and tender upon this head of intercession, and might be understood to give it up. *Melancthon*’s timidity drew upon him the reproaches of *Luther* at certain times; on other occasions, when it proceeded to dejection and despondency, *Luther* was as ready to comfort and encourage him.

Luther’s

Luther's own words, that they may not be suspected to be misrepresented by an unfaithful translation.

“ GEN. xxv. 8. Abraham *collectus est ad populos suos*] Hæc verba spiritus sancti neutiquam otiosa sunt nec dicuntur bestiis, quæ non eunt ad patres et populos suos; sed hominibus, et testantur restare post hanc vitam aliam et meliorem; quin etiam ante Christi adventum, fuisse populum viventium, qui habitant in terra viventium, et ad quos emigrarunt pii. Inde ergo patres intellexerunt resurrectionem et vitam æternam. — De impiis hoc non dicitur, sed est sermo de sanctis et justis.”

Thus far *Luther* attempts only to draw from these words a general proof of a resurrection and eternal life; and this, he supposes, they suggested to the patriarchs. What he meant by a *living people, inhabiting the land of the living*, we shall see presently. In the mean time, be it observed, that according to *Luther*, the wicked and impious are not comprehended among the inhabitants of the land of the living. He proceeds next to the question concerning the state of souls after this life.

“ Porro hoc loco quæstio agitari potest de statu animarum post hanc vitam. — Simplex autem responsio est quam Christus præscribit, cum inquit, Matth. xxii. *Deus non est mortuorum Deus, sed viventium*. Inde certi sumus vivere animas, et dormire in pace, nec torqueri ullis cruciatibus. Idque multi loci scripturæ sanctæ comprobant, quod post mortem non morimur, sed *vivimus* simpliciter: sicut sententiæ admodum claræ *Esaie* testantur. *Viri misericordiæ colliguntur, et nemo at-*

“ *tendit nec curat. Justus sublatus est ante calamita-*
 “ *tem, et antequam veniant ærumnæ, intrat in pacem*
 “ *suam, et requiescit in cubiculo suo. Quiescunt sancti*
 “ *molliter et tranquille, sicut in Apocalypsi testatur*
 “ *vox de cœlo; A modo jam dicit spiritus, ut requies-*
 “ *cant a laboribus suis.*”

This is our Reformer's idea of *the land of the living* mentioned above, the soul *lives simply, sleeps in peace, without being tormented*. But it is remarkable that though these expressions may seem to include all souls whatever, and that all souls in this state were so asleep as to be void of all sensation, yet his proofs from *Isaiab* and the *Apocalypse*, only come home to the *saints*, and the *righteous*. Does he mean then that the souls of the saints and of the righteous *live simply, sleep in peace, insensible of joy, as well as of pain and torment*? This he seems to have apprehended, might give offence, and therefore qualifies it as follows.

“ *Differunt tamen somnus sine quies hujus vitæ,*
 “ *et futuræ. Homo enim in hac vita defatigatus*
 “ *diurno labore, sub noctem intrat cubiculum suum*
 “ *tanquam in pace, ut ibi dormiat, et ea nocte frui-*
 “ *tur quiete, neque quicquam scit de ullo malo,*
 “ *sive incendii, sive cædis. Anima autem non sic*
 “ *dormit, sed vigilat, et patitur visiones, loquelas*
 “ *angelorum et Dei. Iedo somnus in futura vita*
 “ *profundior est quam in hac vita, et tamen coram*
 “ *Deo vivit.*”

This, I suppose, is the *rectification* of *Luther's* former opinion mentioned by the Lutheran divine. And to what does it amount? Even to this. “ *The*
 “ *soul is in a watchful, drowsy, active, passive*
 “ *state*”

“state, acted upon by visions and conversations of
 “God and angels, even while it is in a more pro-
 “found sleep than that of a man in this life who is
 “conscious of nothing.” Does not this look liker
 a chambermaids’s riddle, than the sober system of
 a learned divine? And did ever any man of com-
 mon sense express himself in so strange a manner
who had a mind to be understood? And what shall we
 make of what follows.

“Hac similitudine quam habeo a somno viventis
 “hominis, contentus sum. In illo enim est pax et
 “quies. Putat se dormivisse vix unam aut alte-
 “ram horam, et tamen videt animam ita dormire,
 “ut etiam vigilet.”

But in the paragraph immediately foregoing,
Luther’s sleeping man was *conscious of nothing*; and
 in this very circumstance he places the difference
 between the sleep of a living man, and the sleep of
 a departed soul. Here he makes the sleep of the
 living man, and the sleep of a departed soul to cor-
 respond throughout. For thus he concludes.

“Sic anima post mortem intrat suum cubiculum,
 “et pacem, et dormiens, non sentit suum somnum,
 “et tamen servat Deus vigilantem animam. Ita
 “Deus potest excitare *Heliam, Moysen, &c.* et sic
 “regere ut vivant. Sed quomodo? Nescimus.
 “Sufficit similitudo somni corporalis, et quod Deus
 “affirmat esse somnum quietem et pacem.”

Can any thing paint in more lively colours the
 distress of a man who, fearing to give offence, is
 labouring to conceal his real sentiments, under a
 cloud of words without any consistency, or indeed
 any sense in them?

Mr. *Bayle* however seems to have acquiesced in this account of his correspondent, without giving himself the trouble to consider, whether even the sort of sleep, mentioned in these passages of *Luther's* commentary, would not admit of all the consequences that might be drawn from the mortality of the soul. The learned Dr. *Jortin* too, upon the credit, as it should seem, of this same letter of the *Lutheran* divine to Mr. *Bayle*, has thought fit to say, “*Luther's* last and settled opinion seems “to have been, that the souls of the good are in a “state of felicity (r).” A certain sign that neither he, nor *Bayle*, had consulted the passages to which the *Lutheran* divine refers. Since nothing can be farther from all idea of *settlement* than the obscure and fluctuating notions we have just exhibited.

Dr. *Jortin* indeed afterwards refers us to two passages in *Luther's Colloquia mensalia* (s) published by *Bell*, that may seem to favour his sentiments concerning *Luther's* settled opinion, which it will be necessary to consider.

“I am persuaded, says *Luther*, of all those of “whom the scripture saith, *And he slept with his* “*fathers*, that they are all in heaven, for this word “[*sleep*] sheweth something that is good in the “scriptures (t).” Here the citation ends in the Dr.'s book; but in *Bell's*, *Luther* goes on thus, “But of whom is it written, *They were made away,* “*and slain by the enemies, or were devoured and torn*

(r) Life of *Erasmus*, vol. i. p. 122.

(s) Life of *Erasmus*, p. 336.

(t) *Colloq. Mens.* p. 301.

“*in pieces by wild beasts, &c.* I am persuaded that
“they are lost and damned.”

I imagine it will hardly be thought that all *Luther's* sentiments retailed in this *apocryphal* collection, are accurately reported. Be that as it may, it is plain that *Luther* here is inferring from certain expressions in scripture, the happy or miserable condition of certain persons *after this life*, whose end is described in those expressions. It is likewise plain, from *Luther's* saying that they who die by violence, *are lost and damned*, that he is speaking of the *final* (and not of the *intermediate* state) both of the one and the other. To be *saved*, and to be *in heaven*, are, in popular language, the same thing, as to be happy; and are often used to express the condition of good men departed, when the separate state of their souls is never thought of. This particularly is *Luther's* common language. Had the question been put to him whether he thought *John* the Elector of *Saxony* abovementioned, was *in heaven*? He would most certainly have answered in the affirmative; and yet we have seen that he would have meant this, not of *present*, but of *future* felicity. But what follows will put the matter out of all doubt.

The other passage is this, “Your son, says *Luther* to a disconsolate father, is well provided for; “he liveth now with Christ. O! would to God “that I had finished my course, I would not wish “me here again (u).”

The stress here, I suppose, is laid upon the *de-*

(u) *Coll. Mens.* p. 402.

ceased son's living with Christ. It is pity the worthy Doctor did not cast his eye towards the bottom of the page whence this citation is taken. He would there have found *Luther's* own comment upon these and the like expressions. For having there represented a perplexed person in tribulation, objecting, that the saying of *St. Paul*, *Rom. v. 1.* *They who are justified by faith, have peace with God, &c.* is not verified in those good men who are not at peace in the present life, he answers. "True
 " it is they have peace *in faith*, but the same peace
 " is *invisible*, and surpasseth all human conceit. In-
 " somuch, that being even in death, *feeling no life*
 " *at all*, we must nevertheless *believe* we live." I will only add, that if these are the only testimonies which can be produced out of this folio book of above 500 pages for *Luther's* settled opinion, they must be very thin sown. But be they more or fewer, I will engage to confront them with an equal number on the other side out of this very collection.

I shall however now close the present disquisition with an indisputable proof that *Luther's* latest, and on that account, *real* opinion concerning the state of the dead, was conformable to his commentary on *Eccles. ix. 10.* his reflection on the death of *John* Elector of *Saxony*, and his letter to *Amsdorf*: and that upon better authority than that of the *colloquies*.

Sleidan, speaking of *Luther's* behaviour on the day of his death, tells us, " Inter cænandum, variis
 " de rebus locutus, hoc etiam inter alia rogabat,
 " num in illâ sempiternâ vita, simus alter alterum
 " recog-

“recognituri? cumque illi averent ex ipso scire,
 “quid, inquit, accidit *Adamo*? nunquam ille vide-
 “rat *Evam*; sed, cum illam formaret Deus, altis-
 “sima quiete sopitus, dormiebat; expergefactus au-
 “tem cum illam videret, non rogat, quæ sit? aut
 “unde veniat? sed carnem esse de suâ carne dicit,
 “et os de suis ossibus. Quî vero sciebat istud? Ni-
 “mirum spiritu sancto plenus, et vera Dei cogni-
 “tione præditus, ita pronunciabat. *Ad eundem*
 “modum, nos etiam in alterâ vita renovabimur per
 “Christum, et parentes, uxores, liberos, et quic-
 “quid est, multo perfectius agnoscemus, quam tunc
 “*Evam Adamus* cognovit (x).

Luther here considers those who *will know* their friends in *that eternal life*, as in the same state that *Adam* was when *Eve* was first presented to him, namely, just awaked out of a deep sleep.

The *renewal* by Christ cannot possibly mean any thing but the resurrection of the dead; and these two circumstances, considered together, leave not the least room for a conscious intermediate state. A plain proof that *Luther* never departed from the sentiments he disclosed to *Amsdorf* in 1522, but retained to his dying moment, the same uniform idea of a total suspension of thought and consciousness during the interval between death and the resurrection.

The misfortune was that his more immediate disciples were in another persuasion, and therefore, instead of defending their master's doctrine, set

(x) *Sleidan*. lib. xvi. 488.

them.

themselves to prove he never held it (y); and thus leaving the main root of *Popery*, in the ground, it is no wonder they should have been unsuccessful in pruning away the corrupt fruits which always have, and always will spring from it.

(y) *Seckendorf*, I suspect, wanted to conceal *Luther's* sentiments on the intermediate state, through an apprehension of their being heretical. There are few traces of what *Luther* thought on the subject in all this voluminous work. And though *Seckendorf* gives an account of most of his commentaries on the scriptures, under the several years in which they were published, he never mentions *Luther's* opinion on the state of the dead, except in one or two places, where *Luther* says, *there is nothing revealed about it in scripture*. *Luther's* reflexion on the death of the Elector of Saxony, was too striking to be omitted, and had been recorded elsewhere. So likewise was his last conversation concerning the knowledge of our friends in another life. But *Seckendorf* took care to soften the *offensive* expressions, as may be seen by comparing his account of it p. 636, with *Sleidan's* and *Melchior Adam's*. These little partialities will stick to writers of the most consummate integrity, of whom *Seckendorf* is in the foremost rank. That *Luther's* works have not been faithfully dealt with by some of his disciples, we have the following testimony from one of his Biographers. Quo imprimis etiam pertinet, quod de Scriptorum suorum fati apud posteritatem agens [*Lutherus*] vereri se dixit, ne id quod boni esset in scriptis suis oblivionis tenebris obrueretur: quod augurium adeo eum non fefellit, ut post obitum ipsius, ne quidem ejusmodi homines defuerint qui ex scriptis illius *varia*, et ea imprimis delere sunt ausi, quæ ipsis minus placebant, et quibus multa redargui animadvertabant, quæ tamen emendare ipsis non satis commodum erat. *Præfatio* Georgii Knoppii in vitam *Lutheri* a Jo. Dan. Henschmidio Conscripam, p. 29.

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THE END

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Blackburne, Francis

An Historical View of the Controversy concerning an Intermediate State and
the Separate Existence of the Soul between Death and the General
Resurrection deduced from the Beginning of the Protestant Reformation to
the Present Times ...

London 1772

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